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NEW ZEALAND

AND

ITS ABORIGINES:

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE ABORIGINES, TRADE, AND RESOURCES
OF THE COLONY;

AND THE ADVANTAGES IT NOW PRESENTS AS A FIELD FOR
EMIGRATION AND THE INVESTMENT OF CAPITAL.

BY

WILLIAM BROWN,

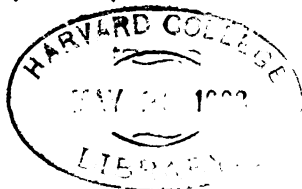
LATELY A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF NEW ZEALAND.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER, AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1845.

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P R E F A C E.

THE first two chapters of the present work were written so long ago as 1840, and forwarded by letter to England, with a view of furnishing information as to the character of the Aborigines of New Zealand, about whom so very little was then known to the British public. Like many other letters, however, from New Zealand, these never reached their destination; and other occupations prevented me from recurring to the subject until circumstances led me to re-visit Britain, when, to beguile a few of the tedious hours of a five months' homeward voyage, I again transcribed my manuscript, believing that the information it affords may still be found useful, notwithstanding the number of works which have already been published on the same subject.

After delineating, as accurately as possible, the mental peculiarities of these Aborigines as existing

in a state of nature, I have traced some of the more prominent and important changes which European intercourse has wrought upon them, and have followed up these observations by suggesting practical measures for the improvement of their condition.

As New Zealand is now attracting so much attention as a field of colonization, it is hoped that the information regarding the resources of the country, and the important measures lately introduced by the local government in restoring to the Aborigines the right of disposing of their lands to Europeans,—abolishing customs, and establishing *Free Trade*,—may also prove useful to those who are interested in the colony.

London, July, 1845.

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AND THE MEANS OF ADVANCING THEM IN CIVILIZATION.

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NEW ZEALAND,

&c.

INTRODUCTION.

NEW ZEALAND, from the moment the British Government proposed to colonize it, has attracted a very large share of public interest, and has always been acknowledged to possess singular advantages as a field for colonization, in its almost unequalled salubrity and mildness of climate, and in its richness in natural productions, and other sources of wealth. Yet with all these advantages, and the strong prejudice in its favour, it is matter of no ordinary surprise that New Zealand has hitherto failed in attracting emigrants and men of capital to its shores; and thus, while the country is universally extolled, it is altogether avoided, as if a curse hung over it to mar and neutralize every advantage it possesses.

To explain this anomalous state of things, and to remove, if possible, the apprehensions of failure

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which have, hitherto, been but too justly entertained, is the object of the following pages.

The representations of the savage and cannibal propensities of the natives, and the consequent dread of personal insecurity, have operated to deter many from settling in their country. That these apprehensions are altogether unfounded, I shall endeavour to show in a more minute and comprehensive account of the aborigines than any hitherto published.

My object, however, is not merely to remove groundless fears, but to diffuse correct notions as to the character and capabilities of these people, and to suggest practical measures for their advancement in civilization.

The accounts hitherto published may have been sufficiently minute for the general reader, but are far too vague and scanty to admit of any system of treatment being based upon them. I have not, therefore, hesitated to describe the minutest shades of the national character that presented themselves, although, in so doing, I may become obnoxious to a charge of prolixity, or even of tediousness.

It is vain to hope that the natives of this the last and fairest of our colonies, may escape the fate which has hitherto attended the aborigines of other countries when brought into connection with civilized man, while the proper means for ensuring

to them a better destiny are either unknown or neglected. The natives of other countries have certainly been less hopeful subjects than the New Zealanders ; but even *they* might have been improved—at all events, have suffered less—had any vigorous exertions been made to save them. Nor is it enough to have the willingness to do this, with the readiness to supply the funds necessary for such a purpose. Success would still be wanting, without an intimate and practical knowledge of the mental characteristics of the particular people to be acted upon. Look, for instance, to the revengeful, proud Indian, who would rather sacrifice his life than owe it, under whatever circumstances, to the generosity of another ;—who, from infancy, is trained to endure, without flinching, the most exquisite pain,—who is a hunter, by nature,—warlike, restless, and wandering in his habits,—and clinging to these, and even to his very feelings and ideas, with invincible tenacity. How different would be the treatment applicable to such a being from that to be pursued towards the New Zealander ! who, on the other hand, cultivates the ground, is quiet and placable, and pretends to no courage,—is as much afraid of the physical prowess of others as he is of the *Attua* which his own fancy has created ; and who, above all, is a trader by nature ; changing his habits, feelings, and ideas with the utmost ease and rapidity,

and being therefore, in the highest degree, a fitting subject for rapid civilization. Still, his peculiar dispositions require to be minutely known, and carefully considered, by those who would promote his improvement: and I am convinced, that if the character of these aborigines were accurately known, they would cease to excite any fears; and, so far from being an obstacle in the path of the colonist, they should be regarded as the chief element of his success; being at once the producers and consumers of vast quantities of articles of commerce, and therefore a source of great wealth to the settler. '1

The other causes which have operated to check emigration to New Zealand are equally obvious.

It is well known] that efforts to colonize New Zealand have hitherto been made by two separate bodies,—the Government and the New Zealand Company,—and these, unfortunately for the colony, have not only been distinct, but frequently opposing influences.

The part which the Government have played in this colonizing tragedy is soon told. Incompetent officers were appointed to establish British authority, and to prepare the country for the reception of emigrants.

When these officers arrived they found a flourishing and industrious little colony already established; but instead of nourishing, protecting, and extending

it, the measures adopted by these functionaries utterly overturned it ; while their efforts to rear a new colony on the ruins of the old one signally failed.

Such are the simple facts of the case ; but the explanation of the causes which have hitherto prevented that flow of emigration so reasonably to have been looked for towards the Government settlement at Auckland would still be incomplete, were it not stated that the settlers at that place have proved themselves a most honourable exception to emigrants in other colonies, who, by misrepresenting the state of affairs, have allured new victims to their settlements in order that the former victims might, by preying on the new comers, be enabled to leave the scene of their misfortunes. In this respect the public press, in the Government townships, have behaved most honourably, and, instead of *recommending* emigration, have almost continually discouraged it. It was early seen that the measures of the Government were totally ruinous ; and that the sooner the doom was accomplished, the sooner might a change for the better be expected ; and the colonists nobly resolved to endure the evil themselves without attempting to draw others into the same snare. At the same time they were not disposed to endure their wrongs in silence, and accordingly made every exertion to bring their grievances before her Majesty's Government.

These, it may be stated, are now redressed, though by indirect means ; for they might still have existed had not the officers, by their *fortunate* reckless extravagance, soon left themselves without the means of carrying on the system any longer.

It may with truth, therefore, be affirmed, that from the arrival of Captain Hobson, in January, 1840, the portion of the Colony under the immediate superintendence of the Government became every day less desirable as a field of colonial enterprise, and never having been puffed and written into notoriety it fell at once to its natural level. These circumstances are, therefore, quite sufficient to account for the anomalous statement already made, that New Zealand, while it is still acknowledged to possess the greatest inducements to the emigrant and man of capital, has hitherto been perfectly neglected.

The efforts of the New Zealand Company, as the other colonizing agent, have led to an almost equally unhappy result, though the means pursued have been widely different.

The Company, like the Government, did not find a colony ready made to their hands ; but they were men of business—of energy and of vast resources—and they lost no time in attempting to make a colony. Every expedient that ingenuity could devise was resorted to in order to force emigration.

They have founded three settlements — Port Nicholson, Nelson, and New Plymouth; but from their not having, properly, purchased their lands from the natives, and other causes to which it is not necessary here to allude, many thousands of our countrymen who were induced to quit their homes, were doomed to the bitterness of disappointment, and the Company are only now removing obstacles which might have been overcome before these emigrants were sent to the country. However, my design is not to write a history of that Company, but merely to adduce the fact of its having failed in its object, as completing the list of causes which have hitherto prevented the colonization of New Zealand. It is necessary to do this much in order to remove the groundless fears to which the tales of misery and suffering sent by the Company's settlers to their friends in England have given rise. These statements have doubtless operated more powerfully than perhaps the parties themselves intended, since they have been made to apply to the *whole* of New Zealand.

Many, however, of the evils of the Company's management are of a merely temporary nature, and such as a change of policy may easily obviate.

It is confidently believed that a better day has now dawned upon New Zealand, and that a career of prosperity has at last commenced; and firmly

entertaining the opinion that such is the case, I shall state the reasons upon which my hopes are founded, in order that others may be enabled to decide for themselves the momentous question as to the colony which holds out the best prospect.

I have been myself a victim of the grossly exaggerated and deceitful statements which were made use of to force emigration to *South Australia*, where I spent ten months of misery ; and I have subsequently witnessed, in the case of others, similar sufferings in Port Phillip, Sydney, and even in New Zealand, in which last I have been since the foundation of the Colony. In this experience I have, therefore, seen too much misery to wish to induce one person to emigrate against his inclinations, far less have I any desire to excite extravagant hopes, or to exaggerate any advantages ; but should I have been betrayed into error in this latter respect, let it rather be ascribed to the pleasure which I feel in making my first favourable statement regarding the Colony, than to any intention to deceive.

PART I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ABORIGINES OF NEW ZEALAND, AND THE MEANS OF ADVANCING THEM IN CIVILIZATION.

CHAPTER I.

Manners and Customs—Tapu, with Illustrations of its Application—Robbing, as a Punishment for Offences—Claim of Property in Shipwrecks—Laws of Descent of Property on Death—Mode of Salutation—Crying for Joy—Physical Appearance.

THE New Zealanders are a highly interesting and singular people; nor has their disposition anything of that repulsive character which their well-known cannibal propensities would naturally lead one to expect. At first sight one is struck with their intelligent, manly, and sedate appearance; and further acquaintance with them serves to confirm these impressions. They frequently display, as might be expected, a childish curiosity to inspect the various new objects which their European visitors may possess; and strangers, on this account, may, at first, be inclined to think them children in

point of intellect : their acute remarks, however, on subjects with which they are familiar, their keen perception of their own interest, and the readiness with which they appreciate any new thing of real practical usefulness to them, soon prove that their intellect merely requires a little cultivation to place them on a footing with their civilized brethren. Their curiosity is not childish wonder, but the result of a quick, inquiring mind.

From what I had read in the very meagre accounts already published, I expected to find them restless, active, and irascible ; but the contrary of this is the fact. They are perhaps the most patient, equable, forgiving, people in the world. These qualities, with their extreme superstition, it will be shown, are the most strongly marked features in their character.

I shall now endeavour to give as minute a description of the manners, customs, and intellectual peculiarities of this interesting people, as I have been able to obtain, from personal observation, and from the accounts of others who have had longer, more intimate, and more extensive intercourse with them. While thus minute, however, I shall carefully abstain, as far as possible, from an enumeration of *individual* peculiarities, confining my remarks to what appear to be national characteristics.

Before proceeding to give an account of their intellectual peculiarities, I shall notice some of their manners and customs, and among these the system of tapu, or rendering sacred, deserves to be first

mentioned, from the overwhelming influence which it exerts over them. It is difficult, however, to give a satisfactory account of this, as no information can be obtained beyond the isolated applications of the system; and these seem frequently so arbitrary, if not positively contradictory, that it becomes doubtful how much is really a fixed law or custom, and how much is liable to be changed according to the circumstances of each particular case. For instance, a chief can tapu anything he chooses, so that no one *of inferior rank* will afterwards touch it. But the chief can, at his pleasure, remove the tapu, with all its consequences, and so the matter ends. Some things again are, in their own nature, sacred; such as a dead body,—and a person, by merely touching it, becomes for a time thereby tapued, and during the continuance of the tapu is prohibited the use of his own hands. He is fed by others, or eats his food out of a basket placed before him, without touching it with his hands. When the sacred period has elapsed, however, there is this difference between this case and the former,—that, here, the person who takes off the tapu must take all the duties, or rather encumbrances of it upon himself. This is generally done by an old woman, who is constantly sacred or tapued, and such are generally chosen to handle dead bodies, so that as few persons as possible may be put in this helpless condition. Again, as to some things, the tapu goes off after a certain period has elapsed, as a matter of course, without the intervention of any one, or the transfer of its obligations. Kumaras (sweet

potatoes) are an example of this. This vegetable is very highly esteemed, and is called the food of Rangatiras (chiefs). With the view, apparently, of its better preservation, the use and cultivation of it has been invested with a certain amount of solemnity: those planting or gathering it, while performing these operations, and for three days afterwards, are not allowed to leave the ground, nor can they touch with their hands the food they eat. Were these ceremonies not attended to, it is supposed the kumaras would not grow.

The chiefs, as might be expected, are fully aware of the advantages of the tapu, finding that it confers on them, to a certain extent, the power of making laws and the superstition on which the tapu is founded will ensure the observance of them. Were they to transgress the tapu, they believe that the attua (God) would kill them, and so universal is this belief that it *is*, or perhaps rather *was*, a very rare occurrence to find any one daring enough to commit the sacrilege. To have preserved this influence so completely among a people naturally so shrewd and intelligent, great care must, no doubt, have been taken not to apply it unless in the usual and recognised manner. To have done otherwise would have led to its being frequently transgressed; and consequently to the loss of its influence. Before the natives came into contact with the Europeans the tapu seems to have acted with the most complete success; as the belief was general, that any disregard of it would infallibly subject the offender to the

anger of the attua, and death would be the consequence. Independently, however, of the support which the tapu derives from the superstitious fears of these people, it has, like most other laws, an appeal to physical force in case of necessity. A delinquent, if discovered, would be stripped of everything he possessed; and if a slave, would in all probability be put to death—many instances of which have actually occurred. ✓

So powerful is this superstitious feeling, that slaves will not venture to eat of the same food as their master; or even to cook at the same fire; believing that the attua would kill them if they did so. Everything about, or belonging to, a chief is accounted sacred by the slaves. Fond as they are of tobacco, it would be perfectly secure though left exposed on the roof of a chief's house; no one would venture to touch it. To try them, a friend of mine gave a fig of tobacco to a slave; who, after having used it, was informed that it had been on the roof of the chief's house. The poor fellow, in the greatest consternation, went immediately to the chief telling him what had happened, and beseeching him to take off the tapu from the tobacco to prevent the evil consequences.

The ceremony of taking off the tapu is performed by cooking some food,—generally kumaras. This is presented to the chief who eats a little of it, and throws the remainder away, which, it is believed, is eaten by the attua, or, at all events, that it, in some manner, appeases him. ✓

The New Zealanders never eat their meals in a house lest any great chief may have been under its roof. It is contrary to the mysteries of the tapu to touch anything that has been over the head of a chief, that portion of his body being deemed sacred. For this reason, no slave would venture on the roof of a house to repair it, and the chief would be compelled to perform the operation himself. I witnessed a practical illustration of this among the tribe with whom I resided. The chief having much against his inclination, refrained, for upwards of three weeks, from entering the house, as the roof was not finished; as he knew that if he once entered it, the workmen would not afterwards complete the job; when he, or another chief of equal rank, would have to perform the work. Some of the settlers take advantage of this peculiarity by getting the chief, under whose protection they reside, to tapu their house so as to prevent the slaves from entering it, an object of great importance, inasmuch as the proprietor is protected from intruders, who could not otherwise be got rid of except at the risk of giving offence, which it is always desirable to avoid. The tapu, however, even in such cases, is not without its disadvantages, as everything in the house, as well as the house itself, is tapued, nor could any goods be sold out of it. In general, the settler is therefore satisfied to get his tobacco pipe tapued, to prevent the natives from borrowing; as they are in the habit of doing among themselves.

In no case, however, is the power of the tapu seen

so distinctly as when applied to and connected with their dead. Not only is the spot where a dead body is deposited sacred, but even the ground over which it has been carried ; and no one (for many years at least) would go near it. Nay, the very sea, if the body has passed over it, is also tapued. That the smallest amount of inconvenience, however, may be sustained in such cases, the canoes are paddled as near the shore as possible. The canoe, however valuable, becomes sacred, from having conveyed the body, indeed it is generally placed over the grave with a pole driven through its bottom. Along the coast are to be seen many such tapued tracts which, to Europeans, prove a very serious annoyance, as no natives will accompany them to such places ; nor could they venture to go by themselves, except at the risk of being robbed for their temerity ; that is, if the natives supposed them aware of the tapu. Europeans are thus frequently obliged to go out of their way many miles. At one place I have seen a tapued creek where vast numbers of wild ducks resort, and nearly as tame as if domesticated, the natives allowing no one to molest them.

During my stay at the place, a chief died who had been for some time in the last stage of consumption. A detail of the various ceremonies which took place on the occasion may be interesting. This chief had not been abandoned in his sickness, according to their barbarous superstition, but had slaves to watch over him ; and, on life becoming extinct, which was late in the evening, the

intelligence was immediately communicated in the usual way by firing off a musket. The natives who were in the house of the European settler with whom I resided, on hearing the report, seemed at once to be aware of the death, and commenced the *tangi*—a sort of whining howl,—the nearest possible resemblance to genuine grief. We hastened to the spot where the dead chief lay, and found his legs had been drawn up to his breast, and his blanket wrapt round him. These the settler cut away, in order to get the body stretched out, knowing that the head chief of the tribe would wish a coffin made for it, in imitation of the custom of the white people. This death created a great sensation in the little community, and the news was speedily and widely circulated by the firing of muskets, which might be heard for many miles up and down the Frith. (Thames.) As these signals are the approved method of testifying respect on such occasions, and being aware that our chief would appreciate the compliment, we also got our guns and joined in the salute—thus giving him an occasion for boasting to the other tribes of the attentions of “his white men,” as he called us. Nothing was now to be heard but firing of muskets and mournful wailings, which lasted till midnight; but their principal store of powder and tears was reserved for the grand exhibition on the following day, in presence of the whole tribe, and the great number of strangers who come to condole with them on such occasions. Next morning the firing had commenced before we

were out of bed, but had not continued long when we were aroused by one tremendous explosion, which convinced us that some accident must have happened. We had only time to get to the door when we were met by the natives in sad consternation, and bearing two chiefs dreadfully burned with gunpowder, and crying piteously. They came to seek the professional assistance of a medical gentleman who was residing with me. As there was not a moment to be lost, he ordered them to plunge into the stream running past the door, which they immediately did, and found a temporary relief from the intense burning of the wounds; but it being the winter season, it was too cold to admit of their remaining long enough to derive much benefit.

We found the accident had arisen from an explosion, caused by one of the chiefs snapping his piece over an open cask, from which a boy was serving out the powder. The poor boy was blown to pieces; but being a slave his loss was unnoticed amidst the grief now manifested for the two chiefs, the one named Pirate and the other Te Rite, the principal men of the tribe, and inferior only to the head chief Kanini. This accident caused a temporary interruption to the obsequies of the dead, as the sympathy of the natives was now exclusively bestowed on the living sufferers. This, however, did not continue long, as my friend soon had them placed under his tent, where, with judicious treatment, they were soon able to endure the pain without much complaining. The other natives we quieted, though

with some difficulty, by assuring them that the chiefs would soon recover. Pirate, however, though not nearly so much injured as the other, was much frightened, and declared that he also should soon be a tupapaku (corpse). Nor were his fears much to be wondered at, as the intense and loudly vented grief of his friends was sufficient to unhinge a stronger mind than his.

As soon, however, as we had succeeded in convincing the natives that the wounded chiefs would recover, the regular business of the day was resumed; a few slaves alone remaining in attendance on the sufferers. While the discharge of muskets continued, many of the slaves were occupied in cooking kumaras for breakfast, to which ample justice was done, when a semicircle was formed before the corpse, and a grand chorus of weeping and howling commenced. At intervals the chiefs in turn made a speech—a sort of eulogy on the deceased—in which they enumerated all his good qualities, viz., that he was a brave man, not easily frightened, not an angry man, quiet and easy, kind-hearted, good to his wife, &c. &c. This was uttered in a sort of chaunt, with an accompaniment of sobbing and crying, the multitude, or mob, as they are called, taking up the chorus in the same key as the speaker.

✓ The effect of this on a European stranger is at once painful and ludicrous, as there is a sufficiency of real grief to enlist the sympathies of the beholder, while he cannot but revolt from the ludicrous attempt

to modulate the force of the emotion, and the flow of tears, to a musical cadence.

However improbable this may appear, it is nevertheless literally true; and I have actually seen a song which was sent from one chief to another to be sung, or rather cried, upon a similar occasion. It is quite a common remark, that such and such a person is a good or bad cryer. To confirm the reality of their grief, they make incisions in their cheeks, arms, and legs, with broken glass; and to such an extent, that the quantity of blood renders them no longer recognisable. Some even go to the length of cutting off a joint of the finger, but this is now rarely done. After crying, and lacerating themselves, for perhaps an hour or so, they got fatigued, and rested for a short interval, during which some of them might be seen carelessly laughing, and talking with each other as if they had already forgotten their sorrow. ✓

In the mean time another canoe will arrive with some stranger natives, to pay their tribute to the dead, for they come from all quarters on such occasions,—even enemies forgetting for the time their animosities, will unite in assisting at the ceremony. The same scene of speechmaking, crying, and cutting, is acted over again. Their lugubrious exertions, however, do not make them unmindful of their stomachs, and the slaves are kept busily occupied in preparing vast quantities of kumaras, the strangers being not only feasted while they remain, but are presented with a large portion of food to take away with them.

The feast is served up in small baskets, made of the flax leaves, which, being always fresh and clean, are a very excellent substitute, in the bush, for Wedgewood ware. After eating their meal, the mourners resume their funereal rites, which are kept up till midnight.

For two more days did the scene continue,—the interest being kept alive by the successive arrivals of new comers during that period. The members of the tribe belonging to the deceased were too much exhausted to persevere; but this was of little consequence, as the stranger chiefs were well supported by their own attendants, and had always the assistance of the principal mourner, Kanini, who, however much fatigued he might be, had to join, and take his part with, every new accession of strangers. One of the oldest and most influential of these chiefs, to the other manifestations of his grief, added the rather singular one of striking Kanini a blow on the head “for allowing the chief to die.” Although the deceased left a brother, the latter did not assume the duty of chief mourner, as might have been expected: this post was undertaken, as stated, by the head chief of the tribe, Kanini; and a most disagreeable and onerous duty it was, for he had not only to conduct and lead the ceremonies, receive the various strange parties, and join with them in each new crying match which then takes place, but had also to sit in the open air by the corpse all night, with only a mat over his shoulders to protect him from the cold. A grave in the European fashion was dug, and at the

end of the third day the body was deposited in it. On the top of the grave were placed all the blankets, wearing apparel, trunks, guns, &c. &c., belonging to the deceased, and superstition guards them from sacrilege more effectually than twenty sentinels could do.

The accident which occurred to the chiefs, Pirate and Te Rite, having been mentioned, it may be interesting to the reader if I relate the result of the case. After the first day, through the attention of my medical friend, they were both much better, but on the second day Pirate requested to be carried from the tent to his own Pa (village), about a mile distant, saying that Te Rite's attua was killing him. For the two next days nothing particular occurred ; but on the following morning a messenger was sent to acquaint my friend that the attua had informed Pirate during the night that he was going to die. On our visiting him, his wounds were found to be much better, though his tongue was a little furred, indicating a slight derangement of the stomach, and some medicine was accordingly prescribed, but he could not be prevailed upon to take it. Early next morning, the report of a gun announced to us that he was dead. We could scarcely credit it, but such was the fact, affording a striking example of the power of imagination, which certainly killed him. His wounds were slight, compared with those of the other chief, Te Rite, and were rapidly healing. Indeed, the natives themselves said it was not the accident, but the dead chief's attua, that had de-

stroyed him, for the sake of his company in the other world.

The lamentations for the former chief had but just subsided when this second death plunged the tribe into a fresh scene of sorrow, and the same ceremonies which have just been described were enacted afresh. The old chief Kanini had again to assume the duty of chief mourner; but his labours in this instance did not terminate with the burying of the body, but continued for five weeks, in order to propitiate the attua, and avert further misfortunes to the tribe. The other sufferer, Te Rite, was soon restored to health through the attentions of my friend, who, for his kindness, had presented to him a large pig and twelve baskets of taro, a very fine and highly-esteemed vegetable. Besides this present the chief, a short time afterwards, mustered his tribe, and, gratuitously, got them to drag out of the bush, for upwards of a mile, a large canoe which my friend and I had been obliged to manufacture to supply the place of a boat, which was not then to be procured on any terms. Without the chief's assistance we should have had great difficulty in getting out the canoe, as the natives were at the time engaged with their crops, a duty which is held paramount to every other. I am the more particular in mentioning these circumstances, as this instance is one of the very few of real gratitude which I have witnessed amongst the natives.

In further illustration of the tapu system, I may

just add that my friend's tent, in which Te Rite remained until his recovery, was effectually tapued ; no native would venture under it, and even after it had been taken down many were afraid to enter the house in which it was deposited. My friend himself was held to be tapued, so that any food which he might touch would become so also. An amusing illustration of this was one day afforded, by his inadvertently helping himself to a portion of fish which some natives had just cooked for their own dinner ; and he felt rather surprised when they asked him to take it all, as by touching it he had rendered it sacred, and therefore unfit for them to eat.

Not only is a sick man's food sacred, but the fire also at which it is cooked, as well as the persons using it. In consequence of the settler having touched the dead body, as already mentioned, he also became sacred for a time, as well as the food cooked for him ; and I was not a little surprised to find that even his native wife would not partake of it. Living, as she had done, for a considerable period with a European, it might have been expected that she had learned to disregard her native superstitions.

Next to the tapu, deserves to be noticed their singular custom of robbing (the singularity rather consists in the occasion), and the *sang froid* with which the parties submit to be plundered. It is in fact the usual method of punishing all offences real or imaginary. There is certainly nothing new or ex-

- traordinary in depriving an individual or a tribe of their property, on the violation of any law or custom ; but civilized people would certainly not voluntarily submit to such a loss ; far less would they refrain from using every exertion to secrete as much of their property as the circumstances would admit of their doing. Not so with the New Zealanders, however ; they will calmly and unconcernedly sit by and see themselves plundered of everything. Nay, it is even customary to give the individual warning ; but even then he will not put away his property, as this would be termed an act of cowardice. I knew a case where a party of natives went to rob a chief of the name of Koinaki, in consequence of his wife having committed adultery. On that occasion they took from him a fine double-barrelled gun (an article at that time in great estimation, and very expensive, worth from 10*l.* to 12*l.*), all his blankets, a trunk containing clothes, and other articles, he looking on calmly all the while ; indeed, he was on the best of terms with them, and after the affair was over entertained them in his house for three days, the weather not permitting them sooner to depart.

✓ Robbing is a punishment for all description of offences ; indeed, unless under peculiarly aggravated circumstances, a payment will compound for almost any offence, whether the culprit be a native or pakeha (as the white people are termed). In these robbing excursions they do not always confine themselves to the property of the offender, but con-

structively implicate the whole of his tribe, and indiscriminately carry off all they can find. I witnessed a practical illustration of this in the case of a tribe living a few miles off from the place where I resided. A young chief having taken undue liberties with the wife of another chief of the same tribe, the old chief Kanini assembled a few of his followers, and not only stripped the youthful delinquent but many others of his tribe, not omitting the injured husband himself. They carried off all the provisions that could be found, as well as three canoes. It is a common practice to rob a new-married couple immediately after their nuptials, and not unfrequently to give them a good beating into the bargain. It was at one time customary to rob a person on the occasion of any accident, such as his being burned, the bursting of his gun, &c. &c.

Towards Europeans they adopt the same method of punishment; but they have not been able to get our countrymen to submit with a like good grace; they, of course, resisting whenever they can, and ill-feelings are consequently engendered on the part of the English by the loss sustained, and the very natural supposition that the natives have some ill-will towards them. But such may not be the case. The natives think nothing of being robbed themselves, and do not appear to entertain the least anger towards each other on such occasions; and this should, therefore, be kept in view by the Europeans in judging of the conduct of the natives. Of course it can never be expected that Europeans will be

reconciled to such a perversion of the natural laws of *meum* and *tuum*; but it is at least so far gratifying to think that, in such cases, the natives may only be acting in strict accordance with their own customs, rude although they be, rather than from ill feeling towards the sufferers.

However absurd they may at first appear, it will be found that most of the laws and customs of the New Zealanders are well suited to their mental peculiarities, and to their present social condition.

Anything found on the sea-coast the natives consider to be theirs, even should the owner appear and claim the property; it being, as they suppose, sent to them by their sea-god Taniwa. For this reason they claim all wrecks, which would account for much of their bad conduct on some occasions of shipwreck, and shows that in such cases they do not act so much from bad principle as from errors of judgment and education; they are therefore much less blameable than our own "wreckers," who cannot justify themselves on any plea of ignorance as to what is right.

I have been informed that when a father dies, his personal property descends to the youngest child, male or female; failing whom, next to the eldest; then youngest again; youngest and eldest alternately; but landed property is shared equally amongst all the children, male or female. When a brother dies, if he have a younger brother, the latter must take the wives of the deceased, unless both

parties decline, which they may do; but if either insists, the obligation is imperative.

In their salutations, in place of our practice of shaking hands, they embrace and rub noses with each other; on which account they prefer good broad ones. Their behaviour on such occasions strikes a stranger with astonishment; for, instead of friends appearing glad to meet each other (as they really are), after the ceremony of rubbing noses, they squat down, resting on their hams, with their mat or blanket pulled over their heads, and moan and cry most piteously for half an hour perhaps, the tears flowing as fast as if caused by the deepest sorrow. Tears seem completely under their control, so that they can, at will, shed them to any extent; and certainly amongst the New Zealanders, tears are no evidence whatever of real grief. I was particularly struck with this singular custom of crying for joy, and used every endeavour to get some explanation of the cause of it, but without success. They merely pointed to the heart, and said it was to give relief to what they felt there. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, however, all this crying is mere ceremony; and, notwithstanding their tears and howling, the tones of their voice unequivocally demonstrate that they have no feeling of real sorrow. It appears to me, that this custom has its origin in discovering that joy, when excessive, has the same effect as grief in producing tears. From this they have established a general principle of crying on all occasions, however slight the feeling

of joy may be. It is easily seen that they are only acting a part; and it is frequently ludicrous to observe the difficulty that some of them find in forcing out these crocodile tears. A proof of this is seen in the immediate change which takes place in their appearance as soon as the "tangi" is over, when they at once begin to laugh and talk with the greatest animation, thus precluding the supposition that they can have felt even the slightest emotions of grief. Show and ceremony appear to be a main feature in the native character; so much so that even grief is universally simulated. The only wonder is that vanity should lead them to the affectation of such a noble and refined feeling as sympathy; and it affords the most unequivocal evidence of the superiority of the New Zealanders, and their susceptibility of the highest improvement. They think the white people cold hearted; and say, that when they meet they show no more regard for each other than so many dogs.

✓ In stature, the New Zealanders are rather above the middle size, and some are very tall—six feet to six and a half. They are very muscular and well formed. Very many have mild, pleasant, and highly intelligent countenances, and their predominant feelings are easily distinguished. This is owing, in some measure, to their being less accustomed to conceal their feelings than people more civilized; but, doubtless, in a still greater degree, to the natural conformation of their minds.

The slaves have a very different appearance. They seem formed of far inferior materials; the very texture of their skin is coarser. Neither are they so tall and well proportioned, though they are more muscular. Their countenances are much less expressive, clearly denoting that they are much more beasts of burden, and less accustomed to mental exertion. Of course, this is no more than the circumstances would lead a person to expect. Slavery produces its natural results in New Zealand, as well as in other places. The poor slave labours that his master may live in idleness, and give him leisure to expand his mind, and enable him, by his superior knowledge, to bind the fetters of his slave the faster. It is due to the New Zealanders, however, to state, that they behave, in general, with great kindness and consideration towards their slaves, who enjoy the utmost freedom, frequently possessing land as well as their master. Indeed, he freely distributes his land amongst them, well knowing that his interest and power lies in conciliating their good will. It should be remarked that this description of the degraded appearance of the slave class only applies to a certain portion, for many of them having been taken in war, and from being chiefs themselves reduced to a state of slavery, are in every respect equal to their present masters.

It appears hopeless to attempt to investigate the origin of slavery amongst the New Zealanders. It may have arisen from an inferior class having been at some period or other introduced into the country,

but it is much more likely to be the result of accidental inferiority of mind or physical power, of which others more favourably constituted have taken advantage. If any of them show superior talents for war, they are duly appreciated, and many slaves by this means raise themselves to the chieftainship of the tribe; for while the chieftainship is nominally and legally, as it were, hereditary, a certain degree of personal power and influence is necessarily requisite in such a stage of civilization. If the legal chief possess not such qualities, he will soon be passed over, as he ought to be, in favour of the more highly gifted.

✓ In colour, the New Zealanders in general are not darker than the Italians. Some tribes, however, are much darker, and in particular the tribe Ngatipowa (*Anglice*, smoked people). Very few of the men wear beards, as they pluck out the hairs with a pair of mussel shells or pincers, as soon as they appear.

✓ Tatooing, once almost universal, is now fast retreating under the influence of civilization. The process is generally commenced at the age of sixteen or eighteen, depending chiefly, however, on the ability of the individual to pay the expense, and the healing of the wounds; for the operation is a very painful process, and only a very little can be borne at a time. On a full tatooed person, the lines cover the face and thighs. Some of these lines are rather pleasing, though it must be owned that they are, on the whole, very stiff, exhibiting a great sameness,

notwithstanding that they are positively different in each individual, being varied to suit the peculiar formation of his countenance. Tatooing appears almost reduced to a system, as each tribe possesses some peculiarity in the form of the tatoo; so much so, that, by its means, members of one tribe at once recognise that to which a stranger belongs. Tatooing is less agreeable on the face than on other parts of the body, where it has very much the appearance of clothing, and the surface being larger, there is greater scope for making the lines more picturesque.

Slaves are tatooed as well as the chiefs, but there are various forms which the former are not permitted to use.

The women have merely the under lip tatooed, with three short lines proceeding from it, creating the unpleasant idea of something running out of the mouth. The women, with few exceptions, are greatly inferior to the men, physically as well as mentally. The chief women have frequently small and well formed hands and feet, which is almost the only good feature they possess. This, however, is referable to the fact, that they very rarely exercise these organs to an extent likely to add much to their natural size.

CHAPTER II.

Domestic Affections—Courtship—Marriage Ceremonies—Chastity—Prostitution—Sense of Decency—Dress—Tobacco—Early Maturity—Children described and treatment of—Small number of Children an anomaly—Infanticide, causes of—Euronesians—Amalgamation with Europeans—Friendship—Want of Affection—Warlike Habits examined and disproved—Illustrations—Indifference to Life—Suicide—Personal Quarrels—Placability, illustrations of—Oaths—Openness of Character—Illustrations—Temperance in Eating—and in use of Spirits—Food—Method of Cooking—Cannibalism—Trading Habits—Illustrations of—Mechanical Talents—Tendency to exaggerate—Vanity—Frequent cause of War—Illustrations—Contrasted with American Indians—High Sense of Honour—Instance of—Placidity—Dislike to haste and precipitancy—Formality of Behaviour—Illustrations—Timidity—Hospitality—Generosity—Native Servants give away their Clothes—Native Feasts—Vast quantity of Food consumed, and Articles of value given away—Tribes vie with each other in the costliness and extent of these Entertainments—Manners, kind and gentle—Peacemakers—Liberality not extended to Europeans—Show much sympathy for each other—Ingratitude—Cause of it—Their Behaviour respectful—Etiquette—Superstition—Witchcraft—Power of Imagination—Instances of Death from it—Sick abandoned—Case of, in E Hongi's Wife—Attuas—Priests—Jugglers—Religious tendencies—Observance of the Sabbath—Missionary success—Bartering Testaments for Pigs—Evils to be apprehended from the teachings of different Sects—Personal Security—Great want of Conscientiousness—Most perceptible in

the more Civilized—Their Intellect—Oratory—Trading capacities—Eagerness to acquire Knowledge—Letter Writing—Native Language—Native names of places changed by Government—English Language little known among the Natives—Attempt to teach discouraged by Missionaries—Draught playing.

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THE New Zealanders do not seem to possess the domestic affections in an eminent degree. In general they appear to care little for their wives. Not that they are unkind to them or that they deem them inferior, and therefore not worthy of attention, but it seems to result rather from a want of that sympathy between the sexes, which is the source of the delicate attention paid by the male to the female in most civilized countries. In my own experience, I have only seen one instance where there was any perceptible attachment between husband and wife. To all appearance they behave to each other as if they were not at all related; and it not unfrequently happens that they sleep in different places before the termination of the first week of their marriage. It is a very rare occurrence, indeed, for husbands and wives to quarrel, and still rarer for a husband to beat his wife. ✓

They have no courtship, nor any marriage ceremonies, beyond the mere conducting of the lady by her lover to his hut. A chief can, in effect, take any unmarried female he may choose. Their laws do not openly acknowledge his power to do so, but they permit him to take her by force if he can, and she then becomes his lawful wife. If she, however, is aware of his intentions, and does not think proper

to yield, her friends will protect her as far as they can.

Alaska (7) Parents not unfrequently betroth their children in infancy, and a woman in such a case becomes tapooed to her future husband, and to him alone; nor can any other person make proposals to her even though he should die—a law which has a considerable influence on the population. In these cases of forced marriages, the females are not beaten or maltreated as the New Hollanders are under similar circumstances. On obtaining his wife it is a common practice for the husband to make a present to her parents, whether the marriage has been a forced or a voluntary one.

The slaves are allowed to marry as they please, but they are not permitted to take wives by force, this privilege being reserved for their masters alone. Wives are usually chosen from a different tribe, partly from inclination, and partly with a view to the increase of the power and influence of the individual, as the husband is always considered to belong to his wife's tribe, and may rise from inferior to superior rank accordingly. A chief is permitted to have as many wives as he thinks proper, a license which is very generally taken advantage of. The Christian natives have been induced to put away all the supernumeraries; indeed some of them have become such sincere converts as to preach as well as practice the duty of entire celibacy. However many wives a chief may have, there is always one amongst them who is the favourite or wife in chief, or

should rival claimants divide the empire, separate establishments will be provided for them. In this there may seem to lurk the seeds of jealousy; but the wives appear to make no objection to the number of their competitors; not because they cannot prevent it, but because they are destitute of those feelings which characterize the females of other countries.

Chastity is not deemed one of the virtues; and a lady before marriage may be as liberal of her favours as she pleases without incurring censure. After marriage, however, she becomes tapued to her husband, and must be faithful to him. Even when unfaithful she may frequently escape punishment, unless it can be made to appear that she was the seducer, a point on which they are very particular. Should her husband not punish her, however, or at least make a pretence of doing so, the tribe will rob him as well as the adulterer. Sometimes in a fit of rage the offended husband will shoot the man who has injured him, but in general the offence can easily be compounded for.

Prostitution at one time existed to a great extent, the chiefs converting it into a regular source of trade with the vessels that visited the ports. This hateful practice is now, however, almost abandoned, at least it is not openly practised and acknowledged, and that it is not exempt from reprobation among them the following incident will testify. A chief from Wakatani, in the Bay of Plenty, went on a visit to the Bay of Islands, accompanied by his wife

and her sister. Coveting some goods belonging to a chief of the Nga Puhī (Bay of Islands tribe), he bartered the chastity of his wife for the goods. The wife told her sister of the intrigue, and the latter having divulged the secret, the affair soon became generally known; and the husband being reproached for his baseness, felt it so keenly that, tracing the report to his wife's sister, he shot her before his own door.

The sexes take no liberties with each other before third parties. Indeed, their conduct in this respect may be termed highly delicate, and might serve as an example to much more refined people. During the period that I was amongst them, I never witnessed in look or gesture the slightest approach to indecacy. There are instances of women committing suicide from its being said that they had been seen naked.

An example of this lately occurred at Kwaranga, a village on the Thames. The wife of a chief had been charged with some offence; as a punishment for which she was barbarously hung up by the heels, and beaten in presence of the whole tribe. This treatment had such an effect upon the poor woman that she immediately shot herself. Instances of such insults to females are extremely rare; the offence is held in such abhorrence that blood alone can expiate it.

Notwithstanding this propriety of conduct, however, they indulge in singing very obscene songs; though not, it would appear, for the purpose of

stimulating the passions, and, doubtless, we attach much more importance to *words* than they do. Their expressions on all occasions are of the most direct kind, they not having yet attained to that refinement which hides the deformity of ideas under the elegancies of a polished language.

The native dress of the women is a mat round the waist, leaving the bosom exposed. The men wear a mat round their shoulders.

In the neighbourhood of settlers the native mat has now, however, given way to the blanket, and many wear complete suits of European clothing, and ape the dandy to perfection; not even omitting the cane, watch, chain, seals, &c., &c. Some may be seen with clothes partly native and partly European, most grotesquely combined;—some will have merely a shirt—others only a pair of trousers;—and if both are possessed by the same individual, the chances are that the shirt is the outside garment. A single shoe or a stocking may frequently be seen without a corresponding one. It is only among the Europeans, however, that they wear these clothes. Amongst themselves, in their own localities, they invariably adhere to the blanket, which they can throw off or put on as they feel inclined. The women, and many of the men, wear gowns; an easy transition from the blanket, and which, as well as the mat, they have supplanted, to a considerable extent, among the women.

Both men and women wear ear-rings. The description most prized are sharks' teeth, which they

attach with a piece of black ribbon ; but all sorts of things are converted to the same purpose,—buttons, buckles, beads, &c. Generally they ornament but one ear in this way, reserving the hole in the other for their tobacco-pipe when not using it, which, to be sure, is very seldom, as smoking is universal, and almost continual both with men and women. I have even seen infants not able to walk with a pipe in their mouths. Tobacco being so much used it might be expected that their teeth would become discoloured ; but such is not the case, for they have beautifully white teeth—the result no doubt of a sound digestive apparatus.

The women are not held in bondage, but have a share of influence corresponding with the natural strength of their character. The chiefs' wives are not expected to do any work beyond what their own inclinations may suggest. The cooking, fishing, planting, &c., is performed by the slaves, and divided pretty equally between the males and females.

Women arrive very early at maturity, and as early become old and withered. They frequently marry at the age of eleven.

Love of children is not a prominent feature of the New Zealand character. Children are certainly treated with great kindness and forbearance ; indeed, they are very rarely corrected ; but mothers show none of that doting fondness for their offspring almost universal among the females of other climes. This is strikingly proved by the absence of all those little wiles and endearments which a fond

mother lavishes on her offspring. But if the New Zealand mother be deficient in the little arts of amusing her children, they themselves stand in less need of them than the infants of other countries ; not being of that mischievous, restless, and unmanageable disposition which characterise other children ; but from infancy manifesting the quiet and tractable temper which distinguishes the full grown man. If children are not here treated with intense affection, they are at least the objects of great consideration. Boys are chiefly under the care of their father, and he will talk and behave towards them as if they were full grown men. Even in great assemblies of the chiefs children may be seen sitting as quietly, and apparently listening with as much attention as their parents. They will frequently (but without interrupting the proceedings) ask questions, which will be answered with as much respect as if propounded by old men. The nature of the children, not less than the treatment of them, tends to render them very precocious mentally as well as physically. Children of three and four years old may be seen by themselves paddling and managing their canoes with great dexterity. But a stranger will be still more amused with the coolness with which these children will ask him if he is married, and inquire the number of his wives ; and should the individual not be happy enough to possess any, the next question would be, if he is not *mate mate* (sick) for one. The peculiar regard which they manifest towards their children seems to be the result of the general

kindness of their own nature rather than any special affection for them. Women sometimes suckle dogs and even pigs, for which they show as much affection as they do for their own offspring. There appears to be no established rule in naming their children, and very generally some personal peculiarity or other circumstance decides the point. If a child cries much, he would very likely be named "E Tangi" (from *tangi*, to cry). If his mouth were unusually large, he would be called "Waharoa" (*waha*, mouth—*roa*, large). If his stomach were prominent, he would be styled "Kopu-nui" (*kopu*, stomach—*nui*, large), a designation which they invariably give to such of the white people as are of ~~older~~ ^{alder-}manic proportions. If gross in his general appearance, he would rejoice in the name of "Tarrea."

It is a very singular fact, that though the New Zealanders have excellent physical constitutions and abundance of food, with other favourable circumstances, they have very few children. Large families are never seen among them; perhaps *two* would be a high average compared with the number of marriages. It is very difficult to account for this fact, as the country seems in *an extraordinary degree favourable to fecundity*, as is proved by reference alike to the vegetable and animal kingdoms. A flock of sheep in New Zealand will produce at least one-third more lambs than, perhaps, in any other country. Europeans in general have very large families, and many have had children there after having been

many years married and without them in other countries. The influence of the country seems most decided in these instances; so much so, that diseases of the generative system will yet be found to be a peculiarity of the country. Under these circumstances it is the more difficult to account for the small number of children amongst the New Zealanders. Infanticide, with *much too early* marriages, will, doubtless, in part explain, but still is insufficient to clear up, the difficulty.

Infanticide is not unfrequent. One of the most common causes of it is the supposition, on the part of the mother, that the father does not care for his offspring; and males being much more esteemed than females, the latter are chiefly the victims, and are sacrificed that they may escape future miseries. Child murder does not arise, however, from the violence of passion, but in general from very slight causes, and, therefore, there is the better hope of the practice being easily put an end to. Should a husband quarrel with his wife, she would not hesitate to kill her children merely to *annoy him*. Infanticide is very frequently the fate of the offspring of those connections with the white men, which originate in the husband removing to a new settlement, and not taking his temporary wife with him—a common occurrence. These Euronesians are a very superior race: they inherit the fine physical constitution of the native, with the mental vivacity of the European; and we are encouraged to hope for the legitimate amalgamation of the native and European races at

no very distant period. Indeed, not a few permanent connections have already been formed directly between the races ; and as emigration proceeds these will no doubt increase. Among the men there are many fine specimens of humanity, physically, mentally, and morally, whom some of our fair countrywomen might easily find good reasons for preferring to their own race ; indeed, if report speak truly, such instances have already occurred ; and a little countenance only is required to establish and confirm these matrimonial connections. Though the women are certainly far inferior, as a whole, to the men, there are still to be found amongst them good looks, in addition to a kind and an affectionate disposition, so that they may occasionally captivate the wayward fancy of some of our male sex. There are not wanting, therefore, many means of incorporating the races, and producing a community of feeling and interest. The native women appear to show much more affection in their connections with Europeans than they manifest towards their own countrymen ; and to this circumstance many of the white people have owed their lives, when their conduct had provoked the hostility of the tribe. Even when deserted in sickness, by natives as well as Europeans, the white man has often been saved by the faithful attachment of the woman he should have cherished as a wife.

Instances of attachment or friendship are very rarely to be seen amongst the New Zealanders. Occasionally there are some manifestations of this

in young girls towards each other, but I have not seen any instance of it in the other sex. They show much general kindness of manner towards each other, but no warmth of attachment worthy of the name of friendship: indeed, they evince the same degree of kindness towards strangers as they do to individuals of their own tribe, or members of their own family. It is more common to perceive attachments between them and their dogs and pigs; the latter are frequently great favourites, especially with the old women, who may often be seen caressing and talking with them in the most affectionate manner. Perhaps it would not be overstating their character to say, that, as a people, they are totally devoid of natural affection. Their custom of abandoning their sick, although this no doubt proceeds greatly from the superstitious belief that they are fated to die, still evinces a great want of natural affection, or they could not do so. The same thing is seen even in the children, who, as soon as they are able, cease to have the least dependence upon their parents, and cultivate a piece of ground for their own subsistence. Should the parents, on the other hand, be in want, they will have fully an equal, if not a better chance of being assisted by some other individuals of the tribe than by their own children; and would thus owe to general kindness, that which should flow from parental affection.

With no part of their character was I so much at fault, as in the estimate which report had led me to

form of their warlike habits. Instead of being a bold, active, restless, fighting people, their attributes may, with greater truth, be described as the very opposite of this. There are, no doubt, individual instances of great bravery and warlike prowess among them; but such are the mere exceptions. In truth, they rarely fight but when they cannot avoid it. To be sure, the general talk amongst them is chiefly about fighting, or rather of being fought; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred this ends in nothing. When they do fight, it will be found that they are urged on by motives very different from the mere love of the thing.

Contrary to what many people suppose, *hereditary feuds* are, perhaps, one of the least frequent causes of war. Perhaps the most frequent occasions arise out of their social habits, which lead the whole tribe to adopt and resent the quarrels which the individual members may have with the individuals of other tribes. Even the offences of one man will frequently be defended by his whole tribe. In such circumstances it can easily be supposed how very slight and frequent the causes must be which lead to wars, even where there is no natural inclination for fighting. A striking instance of the truth of what is now stated is afforded by a late war amongst some tribes residing at the south end of the island. The quarrel originated between the Ngati Koroki and the Ngati Ipakaru, in consequence of the former catching pigs from a run

claimed by the latter. When the objection was first started, the Ngati Koroki held a council to discuss the merits of the case, and came to the conclusion that the claims of the other tribe were well founded ; and instructions were immediately given to all those connected with the Ngati Koroki to refrain from hunting pigs over the disputed grounds ; they being induced to do this by the fear of their powerful adversaries, not less than by a conviction of the justice of their demands.

The dispute was thus set at rest for a short time, until one of the Ngati Koroki was tempted on one occasion by the sight of a fine pig, which he thought he could kill unobserved by any one ; but it so happened that a native belonging to the other tribe was passing at the time, and, perceiving what had taken place, he informed his friends on his return home. The Ngati Ipakaru immediately collected the other tribes in alliance with them, and made a descent upon the Ngati Koroki, and slaughtered a great many of them. Nor was this the end of the tragedy ; for the Ngati Koroki then got some other powerful tribes to take up their quarrel, and a general war was the consequence, and terminated only after the destruction of a pa belonging to one of the tribes who had joined the Ngati Ipakaru, which was burned to ashes, and the chief himself with three hundred of his followers were slain.

The New Zealanders never want an excuse to warrant a declaration of war, if they feel so inclined ; but, in general, their courage can only be

wound up to the fighting pitch after much time and talk have been expended ; so that, at last, their consistency and honour becoming involved, the combat can no longer be put off without their incurring a charge of cowardice. They never, if they can avoid it, engage in open combat. Their fights are all a succession of surprises, the attacking party first satisfying themselves of possessing some great advantage, and gaining an easy victory ; and should their intentions have become discovered they would, perhaps, send formal intimation to their adversaries, who being, therefore, on their guard, the attacking party would sound a retreat until a more favourable opportunity should enable them to return to the charge with some undue advantage on their side.

That they have no natural love for fighting is, I think, pretty well proved by the fact, that they have no personal quarrels ; and civilized people may be astonished as well as blush to hear, that settlers are to be found who have lived in the country for upwards of ten years, and never saw a personal quarrel and fight amongst them. That exterminating fights have been frequent, there is no room to doubt ; but these, as already stated, have had their origin in other motives than a love of fighting for its own sake. When they see that they must fight, they certainly do so without flinching ; but then they have that negative bravery which consists of an indifference to life, and is very common among them. Instances of suicide are very frequent, and that for the most trifling reasons.

Before engaging in battle, they endeavour to rouse their courage and determination by war dances, and songs accompanied by the most hideous yells and frightful grimaces; but these, on examination, clearly shew that they are expected to act much more upon the fears of the enemy than in stimulating their own courage. In accordance with this estimate of their bravery, it will be found that one tribe is constantly in dread of an attack from some other, and they are always on the alert to avoid a surprise. Whatever degree of courage a tribe may possess when on their own grounds, on quitting these it soon evaporates; nor have they the least hesitation in admitting that this is the case. I have heard of many ludicrous instances of noises during the night being converted by their imagination into a sudden attack from their enemies, and the tribe is immediately mustered and put under arms, awaiting in terror the daylight to dispel their fears. They have not even sufficient energy to drag the timber out of the bush until they get up a war-song to rouse them to exertion ✓

They very seldom lose their temper. Indeed one of their chief virtues consists in not giving way to anger, and they feel particularly annoyed when taxed with want of temper. This is another elevated feature in the character of the New Zealanders. We might look in vain for any civilized country considering it a point of honour to abstain from anger, while we might easily discover a great ✓

proneness to offence that admitted of no arbitration but the pistol. Not so, however, with the New Zealand cannibals. It is almost impossible to offend them in such a way that a small payment will not make all right again. Not only do they not get angry—at all events, retain anger—but they are perfectly miserable if they have had any quarrel until a reconciliation takes place. It is a common practice for them to make large payments to the white people to get them to be on good terms again, even in cases where the Europeans have been the transgressors.

A settler informed me, that while he resided at Mercury Bay an old chief and his wife had remained longer in his house than he wished, and, on their disobeying a "notice to quit," he, more in fun than in anger, took up his sword to frighten them away. The lady upbraided her husband for permitting the insult with impunity, and giving him, at the same time a push forward, he received a slight wound in the neck. On this, he went off in great wrath, and returned next day at the head of a number of his tribe, in order to obtain satisfaction, *secundum regulam*, by robbing the offender. He, however, determined not to submit to this tamely, and, presenting his gun, threatened to shoot the first one who should attempt to enter his house. They knew him to be a resolute person, who would act up to his word, and they became afraid and departed. Next day the old man returned, and wished to make friends; and, on the settler proving

implacable, the native went away, but soon returned with a large pig, as a peace-offering, which had the desired effect. This is one of many instances showing the great desire which these natives have to live on good terms with their neighbours; at the same time it shows a want of courage when numbers can be thus successfully opposed by an individual.

There is scarcely a settler who could not relate similar instances of his having withstood a number of natives by the exhibition of courage and determination. There are many cases of the settlers taking a very unworthy advantage of the trait of character just referred to by pretending to quarrel with them, with the expectation of getting payment to make up matters again. Being so little inclined themselves to indulge in anger, it is only to be expected that they will equally dislike to see it manifested by the white people; and accordingly one of their first inquiries concerning a new comer is to know whether he is an angry person or not, and if he should be so, he will suffer very much in their opinion. Closely allied to the peculiarity just described is the fact, that they never curse and swear at each other, nor has their language any words for the purpose. This is a defect which I have known much deplored by Englishmen, who are, in consequence, obliged to vent their oaths in a language quite incomprehensible to those for whose benefit they are intended. The nearest approach in their vocabulary to cursing is the ominous threat to "eat your head"—"eat your

father's head." But should any one so far permit his passions to get the better of him, he may expect to meet with the summary and usually effective punishment of being robbed for his temerity.

Notwithstanding this apparent lack of fire in the composition of the New Zealanders, they talk with great animation; and when the subject is at all exciting, they soon work themselves up to something very like passion. Although the men do not quarrel with each other, I am sorry to say that the ladies occasionally do; but after a sharp skirmish with their tongues, and it may be with their nails, it is all over, and they become good friends again. The men seem to enjoy these exhibitions, but never interfere.

Cunning, so generally a marked nature in savage tribes, is not common among the New Zealanders. This trait of character varies considerably in degree, amongst the different tribes, some possessing it to a much greater extent than others. The tribe residing at the Bay of Islands are the most distinguished for this; and it is singular enough that they derive their name (Napuhies) from the circumstance of attacking their enemies by night,—a practice, no doubt, suggested by their cunning. The chief of that tribe, Pomare, has cunning imprinted on his countenance to a striking degree. That this, however, is not a prominent feature in their character, the simplicity of their ideas, and the freedom with which they express their feelings, and even their fears, sufficiently prove. Even when they

commit a theft, they will readily acknowledge the fact if taxed with it; and there are even many instances of their voluntarily doing so, and offering payment at the same time as a reparation. The same thing is further evidenced in the opinion, universal among the white people, that a New Zealander cannot be trusted with a secret, as he would be certain to reveal it. In this manner are discovered all *faux pas* committed amongst themselves, or in connexion with Europeans. The parties concerned will become the informers, however certain of punishment. To this trait of character have the Europeans frequently owed their safety, as there could not be formed against them designs of any consequence which would not be made known to them in time. The native language itself has such a remarkable directness about it; admitting of no hint, inuendo, or *double entendre*, as to be quite at variance with the idea of their being naturally a cunning people.

In the use of food they are very much more moderate and self-denying than might be expected. They only cook twice a day, morning and evening; nor, in general, do they eat a greater quantity at a meal than the Europeans. Nothing better shows their moderation in this respect than the fact of their selling themselves completely out of provisions for a few months, and subsisting on the miserable fern root, in order to gratify their stronger desire of trading with the Europeans for shirts, blankets, &c. They might always have

plenty of fish for the trouble of catching them. Though possessing abundance of pigs, and being at the same time very fond of their flesh, unless on the occasion of a great feast, they rarely kill any for their own use, alleging that it would only be to *maumau* (waste) them : at the same time they are very glad to beg some pork from the white people after they have received the payment ; and that so importunately, that it is difficult to believe that at the very time they have herds of pigs at their disposal. But their desire for articles of trade far outweighs the gratification of their appetite ; and the command over themselves, in this respect, is further shown by the fact, that however hard they may be pressed for food, they will never use any of the stores of potatoes or kumaras which they have previously laid up for seed.

They are equally moderate in their desire for intoxicating liquors. The New Zealanders may, in fact, be said to have a natural dislike to them, and it is only by frequent contact with Europeans that a few of them appear to acquire a relish for ardent spirits. Even in the neighbourhood of settlements the number who give way to such indulgence is inconceivably small. The missionary natives, on principle, resist the temptation, though they so far compromise the matter by drinking wine instead of spirits.

The bill of fare of the New Zealanders is very respectable, in variety as well as in quality ; though it does not frequently happen that there is any

great variety in one place. The common food consists of potatoes, kumaras, and fish ; of the latter, eels,—vast quantities of which they catch in some of the rivers,—are their favourite dish. On the banks of the Piako (one of the boundaries of the valley of the Thames), I have seen many tons in process of being cured. Their method of cooking them is roasting them before the fire, which they accomplish by fixing them on one end of a piece of stick, the other end being put in the ground : the fish is thus made to incline over the fire, and a very few minutes serve to cook them. They cook pigeons and ducks in the same manner, and I can answer for their being very excellent,—the fowl as well as the cookery. ✓

The natives raise large quantities of Indian corn, which they continue to use as food until it becomes too hard ; but they have a method of preparing it which enables them to use it for many months afterwards. This is done by steeping it in a water-hole, where it is allowed to remain until it is in a certain state of decomposition. The smell of it is most intolerable, and a European turns from it with disgust. It is difficult to say, however, what a person will not eat when hard pressed, and offensive as at first this food may be, I have been glad to get it in the bush in the absence of something more agreeable. Luckily, the smell is the worst of it ; the taste soon becomes even agreeable, it having some resemblance to Parmesan cheese.

Hitherto the natives have sold all their maize ;

but they are very fond of it as meal, and will no doubt soon procure steel mills and grind it for themselves. They also raise considerable quantities of wheat, and are very fast extending the cultivation. Nothing but want of markets prevents them from raising vast quantities of all kinds of produce.

In several places the natives have attempted to prevail on settlers to reside among them and erect flour-mills, offering large quantities of land as an inducement; but the aspect of affairs in general has been, as yet, too discouraging to admit of the experiment.

The native method of cooking is very simple as well as effective. A round hole is first made in the ground, in size proportioned to the quantity to be cooked; into this they put a layer of stones, and then fire, placing stones above it. When the stones are sufficiently heated, the embers are taken out, green leaves are laid on the stones, then the potatoes, and on the top of them the meat they desire to cook. A small quantity of water is now thrown on to create steam; green leaves are again put on the top of the meat, and the whole covered over with a layer of earth to prevent the escape of the steam. Food cooked in this manner is most excellent, and any quantity can be made ready at the same time. I have seen in one oven above three hundredweight of potatoes and two pigs. The process, however, takes a good deal of time and trouble, and iron pots are now generally adopted. When the food is cooked it is served up in small

baskets, usually made of the flax leaves. Indeed, in point of cleanliness, a European would have no cause to complain of their food.

As to cannibalism, it is commonly believed to be entirely abandoned; or if it still exist, it is only in the interior, beyond the range of the settlers. That they were cannibals, of course, is universally known; indeed, it is not denied by themselves, though in general they very much dislike any allusion to it. Some of them, however, will very frankly admit it, and describe the food as surpassing the finest pork. The tongue is the favourite morsel, and is always appropriated by the chief. There resides near Hokianga a chief of great influence, though at one time a slave of the name of Tarrea, a monster of grossness, as his name implies, who is said to have devoured hundreds of tongues. Children were the favourite food of this monster, and he is known to have eaten them at the Bay of Islands within two years before Captain Hobson's arrival. This cannibal's head would form a good study for the phrenologist. He would find a most ample development of the base of the brain, Alimentiveness being particularly prominent. His Self-esteem is equally large, and the natural, but expressive, language of it in speech and action cannot be mistaken. This man played an important part in the great meeting of the chiefs at Waitangi, when the combined influence of the church missionary and the politician were exerted to cajole them out of their rights of sovereignty. The meeting was well nigh

over before Tarrea arrived ; but this circumstance afforded him, perhaps, a better opportunity of displaying his power and dignity. When he thought the proper time had come for addressing the meeting, he marched in with a great number of his followers. A long narrow space was immediately cleared to enable him the better to give effect to his speech. Having seen him on his former visit to the country, Captain Hobson immediately requested him to come forward and shake hands, but, his pride being piqued, he at once refused, adding, that if Captain Hobson wished to shake hands, it was for him, as being of inferior rank, to make the advance : but the captain declined in his turn. Tarrea delivered a most animated and eloquent harangue, strongly opposing the attempt of Captain Hobson to deprive them of their lands or any other rights; and urging his countrymen not to sign the *puka puka* (writing) of the pakeha, as they would then become the slaves of the white men.

That cannibalism has much diminished within a very recent period, may be inferred from a statement made to me by a very intelligent chief. Although he was only about twenty-five to thirty years of age, he had remarked, he said, a great alteration even within his recollection. He could well remember the time, when canoes with two or three chiefs and ten or twelve slaves would go away on an excursion, and on their return the numbers of the latter would be reduced one-half, the others having been killed and eaten. For the most trifling

offence a chief would strike his tomahawk into one of their skulls. But without any provocation whatever, and merely to gratify a craving for such a repast, a chief would go quietly behind one of the slaves and strike him dead at a blow; nor did the slaves in general show symptoms of fear, though no one knew how soon his own time might arrive. Independently of the pleasure of eating such food, they had an additional reason for the practice in regard to the chiefs killed in war, as they not only believed that those eaten would thereby be excluded from reaching the future world, but that the prowess and virtues of the deceased would be transferred to the person who ate him.

The chiefs always walk behind their slaves, and place them in canoes in the same position as a safeguard against treachery. However horrible the eating of human flesh may seem to us, the character of the New Zealanders amply proves that such a practice may co-exist with many of the higher qualities of our nature. Could the origin of the custom be discovered, it might possibly be traced rather to necessity than to a thirst for blood, or natural appetite for human flesh.

There are no accounts of the New Zealanders at a period antecedent to the appropriation of the land; not only, therefore, have they passed the wandering and unsettled stage of civilization, referred to by writers on the history of nations, but are now arrived at the stage when they cultivate the ground and barter its produce with foreigners,

supplying them with articles of trade suitable to their wants in return. Their chief, if not sole, pleasure appears to consist in buying and selling; and no Jew was ever more keenly alive to his own interest. They are thoroughly conversant with the value of the various articles of produce at different parts of the country, and exert all their ingenuity to obtain the same price at one place as at another; their political economy not having as yet taught them the connection of the price with the amount of demand and supply. Their constant talk is about the prices of the various articles of trade; and journeys from the Bay of Islands to the Thames are undertaken for the purpose of acquiring this information.

So business like do they go about matters, that, on arranging for the supply of a certain quantity of produce, they will frequently make a written memorandum of the prices of goods to be given in exchange, so that there may be no dispute when they bring their commodities. Of the goods which they have been in the habit of seeing, they are remarkably good judges; better, indeed, than nine out of ten of the class of traders who deal with them. In purchasing a blanket, for instance, after first satisfying themselves of its fineness and weight, they will hold it up between them and the light, and look over every inch of it, and if it has sustained any damage they will at once reject it. An individual never makes a bargain of the least importance without first can-

vassing the price and other particulars with his tribe, and before coming to a decision will generally sleep over it. When they arrange for building a house, if their employer be a stranger, or if they be not satisfied with his mode of dealing, they will not only have the contract in writing, but will insist on the identical articles of merchandize which they are to receive being shown to them.

As it may be interesting to give some idea of the terms upon which business was carried on before the arrival of the Government, I shall here put down the prices current in the district of the Thames :—

Value in Britain.	s.	d.	
For a single blanket	10	0	} 20 baskets of potatoes, or maize of 56 lbs. ea., or pig of 80 lbs.
Gown-piece . . .	2	6	
Tomahawk . . .	1	0	
Tobacco, 2 figs. . .	0	1	— 1
Hair-comb . . .	0	6	— 2
Shirt	1	3	— 6
Cotton handkerchief	0	8	— 3

The government officers and workmen had not landed more than a few weeks, however, before these prices were altogether altered. Pigs at the township were soon selling at from 3*l.* to 4*l.* each. The natives were well aware of this, and instead of selling them to traders as formerly, they carried

them to the township themselves. One party of them was accompanied by a native who had been brought up with the missionaries, and displayed great ability in conducting business. He frequently purchased the produce from the natives himself, and then sold it at a good profit to the Europeans.

Mechanical talent is much more rare amongst the New Zealanders than is generally believed. From the missionary accounts of the intense interest manifested at the sight of the blacksmith's forge and the labours of the carpenter, the opinion has no doubt been formed that they would themselves become good workmen. The fact is, however, that their earnestness is merely the result of their fine intellect, which enables them at once to perceive the use and great value of these crafts. The tools in general use amongst them are small tomahawks and adzes, the latter being made of a carpenter's chisel tied to a crooked piece of wood; with this implement they fashion the paddles for their canoes, but they are a very long time in the operation. They make very comfortable houses, but the workmanship is of so rude a description as to require only the very smallest amount of mechanical power to accomplish. They construct their houses by making first a framework of poles, one end of them being fixed in the ground. To bind these together, they fasten, with the flax leaves, small pieces of wood, about the thickness of a finger, across these poles, with an interspace of a foot. On this framework layers of rapou (cooper's

ledge) are tied, to complete the walls; one, two, three, or more layers being used, according to the nature of the house. Settlers among them have always houses of this kind, and, as temporary buildings, they answer very well.

There are only a few places, principally about Tauranga, on the east coast, where canoes are made. The workmanship is of the plainest description. Figure-heads may sometimes be seen with a great deal of carving on them, but after all, it is rudely executed, and is remarkable chiefly for its regularity, and the vast amount of time and patience which must have been expended on it. These specimens of art seem to be copies of each other, which shows the poverty of their inventive genius. They take great care of these figure-heads; so that they are frequently fitted to new canoes after the original ones have been destroyed, another evidence of the difficulty of producing them. From my observations, I should say that there is not one person out of twenty who is capable of being made an average carpenter. They appear to possess some talent, however, for design, which shows itself in the rude carving to which I have referred, and likewise in the rough figures of men and women which they have on many parts of the wooden enclosures surrounding their pas. These figures, though merely chopped out with a tomahawk, and rude in the extreme—so far as workmanship is concerned—have yet an expression about them which shows an aptitude for the art.

These figures are generally carved with the tongue protruding two or three inches, to express derision of their enemies. Their talent for design further shows itself in the construction of maps and charts, which many of them trace with the greatest accuracy. This low estimate of their operative talents, the fine mats which they manufacture may be adduced to disprove; but, beautiful as some of them undoubtedly are, they will be found to be the work of a few old women; and, after all, they are chiefly remarkable for the beauty of the original design; a very moderate share of mechanical dexterity, added to patience and industry, being all that is required to produce them. In point of mechanical genius, the New Zealanders are very far behind the Tahitians, Tongese, and most of the other South Sea Islanders.

Though there are, doubtless, many individual instances of the contrary, the New Zealanders, generally, cannot be regarded as a proud race of people. They attach great importance to the circumstance of never having been taken in war. Though the chiefs are proud of their order, they are not insensible to merit displayed even by a slave; and if he exhibit great bravery in war, he need not despair of being raised to the rank of a chief himself. Chiefs do not cultivate the ground themselves, the labour being always left to the slaves. They are also very particular in avoiding the work of cooking, or anything connected with fire; deeming such employment especially beneath them.

They will build houses, however, in conjunction with their slaves, and work as hard as any of them. They also take a fair share of the labour in paddling the canoes, and many other kinds of work. The missionary natives, in particular, live on the most familiar terms with their slaves; but, indeed, with them slaves almost cease to be such. Amongst the heathen natives, the slaves are, in some respects, kept at a great distance; but this is to be ascribed more to the influence of the tapu, than to pride in the chiefs themselves. As has been stated, a slave must not eat of the same food—not even cook at the same fire, lest the chief's attua should kill them: but then the slaves will squat down by the side of their chief, and talk and joke with a familiarity which would not, of course, be permitted, were their masters naturally of a haughty disposition.

If they are not proud, however, they possess a great deal of vanity, which is continually displaying itself; as, for instance, in boasting of their vast possessions, their bravery in war, and of never having been conquered. They even gratify this feeling by extolling the abilities of their white men, who are held to be a part of the tribe with whom they reside and by whom any merits they may possess are taken credit for, and vaunted accordingly. A carpenter resided where I was located amongst them, and he had built an excellent boat, which with its builder were a never-ending theme of praise. When any stranger natives appeared, the opportunity would be

taken to narrate everything that this man had performed or said amongst them ; and it frequently happens that great jealousies spring up between tribes on this very account—the one tribe being deemed more fortunate than the other in possessing a white man capable of doing so many wonders.

One of the most marked traits in the character of the New Zealanders is their tendency to boast and exaggerate. They are continually talking of the mighty deeds they have performed, or intend to do, and they will bully a settler unacquainted with their habits, and make as if they would rob him of everything, while all the time it is a mere boast, which the least determination to resist will effectually silence. I feel very sure that, if the exciting causes of their wars were minutely inquired into, it would be found that the great majority resulted from wounded vanity, rather than perhaps from any other cause. A striking illustration of this came under my own observation, and the nature of the feelings displayed was so palpable that there was no mistaking it.

An acquaintance of mine who has been settled for some time among them, had, on one occasion, a dispute about the payment of some timber which the tribe had been dragging out of the bush for him, and as he showed no symptoms of acceding to their unreasonable demands, one of the chiefs, in their usual braggadocio style, advanced towards him, flourishing his arms, yelling, and looking as if he would annihilate him. This was more than John Bull

could stand, and he struck the chief a blow with his fist, which sent him reeling away. The chief at first got more furious than ever, but soon calmed down again, as his friends thought he was to blame, and did not interfere in the quarrel. Next day the same chief came privately to the settler and begged of him to give him half-a-crown, in order that he might show it to his friends, and tell them that it had been paid as a satisfaction for the insult which had been offered to him. In this case it was clearly his vanity that had been wounded; not the slightest degree of resentment was retained, nor was there the least consciousness of loss of dignity, either in the original insult, or the still more degrading subterfuge to which he had resorted to wipe it away. This illustration affords a correct idea of the peculiar character of the New Zealanders, and shows how very differently they act under circumstances of provocation from most other nations. For instance what a contrast would the American Indian present in such a case, prompted as he is by natural temperament and trained from his earliest infancy to regard revenge as the first of virtues, and never to permit an injury to pass unredressed, or to allow any feeling to come between him and revenge; unless (under peculiar circumstances) the strong claim of hospitality!

Nor are there wanting instances of a high sense of honour prompting the New Zealanders to make ample reparation for offences against established etiquette, even where no real injury has been either intended on the one side, or actually sustained on

the other. Some time ago the chief of Tongariro, while travelling with his followers to a great feast about to be given by some tribes in the interior, encamped for the night near a settlement belonging to stranger natives, and took possession of a new house then in course of being erected for a white man. The house was dark in consequence of the windows not having been yet put in, and the occupants cut a hole in the wall for the purpose of admitting the light. This was not perceived by the owners until the strangers had departed on their journey, when a chief was despatched after them to reproach them for their want of respect, and to demand a payment by way of satisfaction. He found them encamped to the number of 500, and, on making his complaint, the justice of the demand was at once admitted, and the old chief threw down his double-barrelled gun, with a bunch of feathers of the *hui* (of inestimable value amongst them), as payment for the breach of respect which they had unintentionally committed. The injury to the house would not be one hour's work to repair, while the value of the satisfaction could not be less than 15*l.* in articles of European trade.

If the New Zealanders be not timid, they are at least extremely cautious; and it is this, united to their strong superstitious tendencies, which has produced and upheld the institution of the tapu. Their dispositions are quiet in the extreme, and their placidity is so distinctive a feature in the national character, that it is affected by those who do not naturally possess it. Nothing appears in

their eyes so much to detract from true dignity as any appearance of haste and precipitancy. Whether the business in hand be important or trivial, they will squat down, enveloped in their blankets, for a quarter to half an hour, in perfect silence.

I was highly amused with the formalities observed on the occasion of a party of natives, with whom I was travelling, coming to a native pa. Our party arrived at dusk; and while my companion and I were engaged in pitching our tent, our party of natives, who had squatted down on one side, perceived a number of their friends coming from the village to meet them. By the time they arrived, it was quite dark, and they seated themselves on the opposite side of the tent to that occupied by our party. After a silence of nearly half an hour, it seemed to be understood between them (for we did not observe any previous communication) that they should sing a hymn together, which having been done, the party of strangers returned to their pa, without even exchanging words with their friends, and absolutely without seeing each other. About half an hour after their departure, some slaves brought our party the customary present of cooked food, chiefly kumaras, which was given and received in silence. Early next morning the same parties met again, and now the talking commenced in good earnest, each being anxious to give and receive the news of the day. The imperturbable calmness which they maintain, even in cases where their feelings must be highly excited, is wonderful; nor is this con-

finer to matters of importance. I have seen a native who came to purchase a shirt, sit down before the house for perhaps a quarter of an hour, without speaking, or apparently taking any notice of what might be going on, while the Europeans would be racking their imaginations to divine the purport of his visit.

However brave a tribe may pretend to be, their courage seems entirely to forsake them when they leave their own residence, and they dread surprises and attacks from all quarters. Almost every tribe seems to have an enemy in some other tribe, and the one lives in perpetual dread of the other.

Amongst themselves they are very generous and kind hearted. In their eulogies, this is the most prominent point insisted on. If a European enters a pa, the first inquiry is, has the stranger had food? and if not, they will endeavour to prepare some according to his own fashion. They share everything amongst themselves, and even their clothes, and other articles, that they have been at much pains to acquire, they will freely give away. The chief with whom I resided was constantly making presents to other members of his tribe, and even to his slaves. Any thing might be got from him by merely praising it, so as to show that the individual's heart was set upon it. To such an extent does this prevail, that the settlers complain very much that they cannot give clothes to their native servants without the risk of their giving them away to their friends.

When payment is made for the purchase of land,

it is always given to the principal chief, who divides it among the others, according to their claims; and it frequently happens that he reserves to himself a very small share of the spoil. On these occasions, their vanity takes this laudable direction in order to give them a higher character for kindness and liberality.

Their vanity in this particular is strongly manifested in the vast amount of property which they give away at some of the great feasts to which the tribes invite each other. The provisions alone, consumed on some of these occasions, at a very moderate calculation, would exceed in value one thousand pounds; in addition to which the party inviting frequently makes presents to the guests of many guns, besides a large number of blankets. At these feasts, any settlers who may belong to the tribes will also be asked to partake; nor is their liberality confined to what the parties can consume for the time being, but loads of provisions are given to be carried away. In one instance, a friend of mine, living amongst the Waikato natives, had presented to him, as his share, four large hogs, with upwards of 100 kits of potatoes (about two and a half tons); but not knowing what amount of obligation he might, at some future period, be deemed to have incurred, he declined the present. It was allowed to remain for four days on the ground before any one would appropriate it.

At the same feast, a chief purchased two guns

to present to his guests, for which he gave twelve large pigs. The chiefs to whom these guns were given made him a return present of *two* pigs each! so eccentric and anomalous are their feelings,—a strange mixture of vanity, liberality, and cupidity.

The tribes at these feasts vie with each other in the extent of their liberality, and costliness of the presents. To be sure they expect a return in kind, and perhaps are no losers in the end; but it frequently happens that these return feasts may not be given for years; and though they may even look forward to them, the great self-denial which is thus practised in giving away so much food and property, often leaving themselves very little of either, sufficiently shows the pleasure they derive from the display of their generosity and hospitality. The feeling manifested in these instances establishes more satisfactorily the trait of character here insisted upon, than individual examples of it, however many could be adduced, where one native has given away to another almost everything in his possession. But when whole tribes unite in exemplifying the same feeling, there can be no difficulty in admitting it to be a national characteristic.

The slaves who become servants to the white people generally save the greater part of the clothes which they may procure, in order to present to their chief. A boy lived with me for upwards of a twelvemonth, and I was greatly annoyed to find that all the clothes which had been given to him

were regularly presented to his chief whenever he paid a visit. In this, as in many other instances, however, this was not done altogether from the impulse of generosity, but rather in obedience to custom; to which if he had not conformed, he would have been looked upon as wanting in attention to his chief. At the same time, the sacrifice must be regarded as, so far, voluntary, since the chief had no means of knowing what property his slave possessed beyond the latter's admission.

The manners of the natives towards each other exhibit much kindness and gentleness. Their usual address is "e-hoa" (friend or companion); and in their written correspondence will always be found the expression, "great is my love for you." When misunderstandings arise there is always some one ready to become peacemaker, whose first address to the individual or party interested will be, that he is come to "cure their hearts from bearing ill will towards each other."

Generous as they naturally are, their liberality does not extend towards the white people, from whom they will exact payment for the most trifling service. If they saw a white man drowning, their first idea would be to bargain for the extent of *utu* (payment) for saving him. If a native were going a journey, and a white man wished him to carry a letter, he would not do so without the "*utu*." The rule appears to be, to demand payment if they are requested to do anything, however trifling the service;—even for a common act of humanity which

their own natures would dictate. They sometimes, indeed, make presents of pigs to the settlers; but it is better not to receive these, if they can be refused without giving offence, as a return present of three times the value will, at a future time, be expected, and perhaps even solicited. I had, on one occasion, a present made to me without any such expectation, but not wishing to incur the obligation, I offered something in return of more value. Immediately the native cupidity was excited, and the opportunity could not be resisted of asking as much again as I had offered,—an odd way, certainly, of testifying friendship, but it is strictly in accordance with the native character. They say that they have learned this sharp system of dealing from the Europeans, and perhaps there is some truth in the statement.

To a European there is something very strange even *in the manner* in which the New Zealanders bestow their gifts. If they have anything to present to a friend—some tobacco, for instance—instead of placing it in the recipient's hand with that air of mingled respect and condescension which seems so natural to a European, the New Zealander will throw the gift *at* the favoured individual, or on the ground beside him, and in such a manner, as if he were to say, "here is so much trash—take it—it is worthless to me, and I see you are eager to possess it."

There is no better proof of their kindness and sympathizing nature than their conduct on the occasion of a death, as already noticed. A death seems to

affect the whole tribe as powerfully as the immediate relatives, indeed the latter are frequently the least concerned. Parties of condolence come from great distances; but what is chiefly to be noticed is the fact of tribes at enmity with the deceased forgetting their animosities, and coming to express their sympathies with the friends of the dead.

Another anomaly in their character is their ingratitude, which is manifested to a great extent. Whatever kindness you show to a native,—or however valuable the gifts you may bestow on him, he will neither express in words, nor show by his actions, that he feels the slightest amount of gratitude. They receive everything as if it were their own property and felt themselves absolutely entitled to it; but they do the same among themselves; and the very principle of their nature which, on the one hand, disposes them to be so generous, leads them to expect, as a matter of course, anything and everything in return—neither looking for thanks in the one case, nor expressing obligation or gratitude in the other.

No part of their character has been more incomprehensible, or more annoying to the Europeans than this. Many have felt greatly disappointed and chagrined to find that those natives whom they had brought up in their houses from youth, and had lived with them for many years, and to whom every kindness and attention had been shown, would yet leave them for the first stranger who might offer an advance of wages, or even on much more frivolous

pretences. It is not the love of roaming about from place to place, which many savages possess, that induces this conduct in the New Zealanders, but it seems to proceed from a quick perception of self-interest, unchecked by any affection for their friends.

Their intercourse with each other is marked by a great amount of respect, very different from the familiarity, and even rudeness, which the white people manifest. The greatest deference is paid to age. Young chiefs, however powerful and influential, generally remain silent in presence of their seniors, by whose opinions they willingly permit themselves to be guided. The New Zealanders are extremely ceremonious, and etiquette is observed with the utmost scrupulosity; many instances of which have already been noticed, extending even to the most trivial matters.

Superstition being such a prominent feature in their character, it will readily be inferred that they are great believers in sorcery and witchcraft. Once perform some trick or sleight of hand and you acquire over them an unbounded influence. If one who has established his reputation as a conjurer among them predict a death, the chances are that the doomed person will be a corpse at the appointed hour. I have never heard of any cures being effected by the power of imagination; but it is quite certain that though imagination may not cure them, it has the power of killing them. Instances of this will be familiar to every one

who has resided for any length of time amongst them.

The case of Pirate, already alluded to, is one which fell under my own observation, and I watched it with the greater suspicion, as I had previously doubted the existence of this trait of credulity ascribed to the national character. As already stated, I have not the slightest doubt of this man's death having been the result of the powerful impression made on his mind by the attua that he was to die. He was a young, stout, healthy man; his wounds were fast healing; but his attua had impressed him with the belief that he was required in the world of spirits: his mind yielded to the influence, and death was the result.

Thinking this a remarkable case, I mentioned it to one of the missionaries, but he assured me that such instances were not rare; and that if a New Zealander once firmly believed he was going to die, that event would assuredly happen, and that at the very moment predicted.

Other instances of the power of imagination were related to me by an intelligent person who had resided for some years in the country, and who could have had no object in deceiving me; and the cases themselves were narrated as mere traits of native character which had struck him very forcibly, but for which he did not pretend to account; still his stories were so wonderful, that had I not witnessed an instance of the kind myself, and heard of similar ones from persons long resident in the country,

on whose veracity I could rely, I should have doubted his tale.

The first case occurred at Hokianga. A celebrated old chief residing there (one of the few survivors of those engaged in the plunder and massacre on board the "Boyd," and who had in his possession the dagger which was taken from the captain of that ill-fated vessel), had died, and while his wife was sitting by the side of the corpse, fanning away the flies, my informant, out of joke, asked her how long she would be before she followed her husband. She answered, "Next day, or he would be angry with her." To this, however, no attention was paid; the answer being supposed to be given in the same light spirit in which the question had been proposed. Next day, however, she was found dead, according to her prediction, although on the previous day she was in good health, and had taken food with her usual appetite.

On another occasion, while my informant resided on the same spot, passing a tapued place one day he saw some fine peaches and kumaras, which he could not resist the temptation of appropriating. On his return home, a native woman, the wife of a Sawyer, requested some of the fruit, which he gave to her, informing her, after she had eaten it, where he had obtained it. Suddenly, the basket which she carried dropped from her hands, and she exclaimed, in agony, that the attua of the chief whose sanctuary had been thus profaned would kill her. This occurred in the afternoon, and next day, by twelve o'clock, she was dead.

Another instance, still more remarkable, came under his observation. The son of a chief had been long unwell, and was a great burden to his parents. His father one day upbraided him with the trouble which he had thus become to his friends, and said, that as the attua had determined to keep him unwell he had better die at once, and rejoin his friends; mentioning the name of a particular one to go to in the next world. Without uttering a word, the young chief turned on his side, drew his blanket over his head, and in a few hours he was dead.

I shall only mention another instance in which my informant was himself a principal actor. At this period he was residing at Witianga (Mercury Bay), and having been much annoyed by a native dog, he privately administered to it a dose of arsenic, informing the natives at the same time, that he had bewitched it, and that it would die in a few hours. This event duly happened as it was predicted, and it procured for its author the reputation of a sorcerer. Some time after this took place, one of his native boys lost a knife which had just been presented to him; and under the supposition that he had given it away to some of his friends, my informant told him, that unless it was immediately found he would bewitch him, and he would die in a fortnight. On this the boy left him and returned to his parents. In a few days he became very unwell; and fearing that the threat would produce serious consequences, my informant went to him and told him to give himself no more trouble about the

knife ; but he daily got worse, and was dead within the week.

Such instances have been frequent, and there appears no room to doubt that they were purely the result of the power of imagination ; nor can we feel much surprise at it, after witnessing, in our own country, the wonderful cures which imagination alone has effected.

It was a very common practice at one time to sacrifice a number of slaves on the death of a chief, in order that he might be duly provided with a respectable retinue of attendants in the next world ; and very frequently the widows were the first victims. Their superstition, and absence of natural affection cause them also to abandon their sick, a practice which has exerted no little influence on the mortality among them. A striking illustration of both these varieties of superstition is afforded by the following case :—A favourite son of the celebrated barbarian chieftain, E Ongi, had been killed in battle : his mother (who had been blind for years) had a favourite slave girl who attended her, and who had become almost necessary to her existence ; yet, hearing of the death of her son, she immediately took the little girl, though in the act of testifying her sorrow for the loss of her young chief, and suffocated her as a sacrifice to the manes of her son. On a subsequent occasion, when E Ongi was marching on some warlike expedition, his wife accompanied him, but falling sick by the way a small hut was made for her ; and after being furnished with a

quantity of provisions, she was abandoned in the usual way. On the chief's return from the expedition, the little hut was found to have been blown down, and the bones of the chieftain's wife were all that remained, the flesh having been consumed by the native dogs!

A case, illustrative of this superstition, happened very lately, and within a few miles of Auckland, on the island of Waiheke. The wife of an old heathen native, called Kupenga, having died, her relatives supposing that she must be uncomfortable in the other world without her attendant, resolved to send her favourite slave, called Emuka, after her, that she might wait upon her mistress. The girl was made aware of her doom, and informed that in three days she must die. She wandered about the island bemoaning her fate, and some Europeans offered to convey her away; but she refused, saying, that at some future period she would be taken, and if then killed she would not be permitted to join her mistress: she preferred, therefore, at once to submit to her fate; and was shot accordingly.

The New Zealanders have a multiplicity of gods. Each person has, besides, an attua of his own, to whom he ascribes all the evil that may happen to him. Captain Cook mentions, that they were so much surprised at the effects of the fire-arms, that the white men were regarded as divinities; and, though anxious to avenge themselves on them, were afraid to carry their intentions into effect. Many of the natives said they felt unwell if even

looked upon by these attuas; and were anxious that they should leave the country as soon as possible.

When a person becomes unwell, the natives have much more faith in the efficacy of talking with his attua (hoping thereby to appease him) than they have in medicine. This ceremony is performed in the dead of the night, and they speak in a shrill falsetto voice, and in an unknown tongue, —their object being to find out what has made the attua angry, and what will appease him.

Each tribe has its own priest, who seems to unite in his person the offices of priest, sorcerer, juggler, and physician,—appearing in one or other of these characters as occasion may require. As might be supposed from the superstitious notions of the people, he is a person of great influence; nor does he scruple, in maintaining that influence, to resort to any means, however criminal, after the resources of his art have failed. If he predict the death of a person, the event is sure to take place; if not by the occult power of imagination, or the more obvious means of poison, personal violence, as a last resource, will even be used. On the other hand, if a person should die who he has predicted would survive, he easily saves his credit, by affirming that the attua subsequently appeared to him, and told him that the patient must die. Whichever way the event may turn out, the priest easily so explains it as to preserve his own influence and consistency. Many of these priests are expert

jugglers. Some diseases they ascribe to a piece of wood having got into the patient's stomach; this they will pretend to extract; and they perform the operation with so much dexterity that even the white people have been unable to find out how they accomplish it. After the wood has been extracted the patient frequently recovers. An acquaintance of mine once witnessed a scene of this kind where the patient had been attacked by rheumatism. The priest, after muttering an unintelligible jargon, and performing a variety of violent gesticulations, suddenly seized the patient's leg (the seat of the pain), and with his long nails laying bare the flesh from the knee to the foot, produced at the same moment a knotted piece of wood, which he affirmed, and the patient believed, had been extracted. These priests are only now to be found towards the southern and less frequented parts of the island. The natives in the neighbourhood of the settlers soon acquire too much information to believe such absurdities.

Their attuas are all evil disposed, and the natives have no good deity. When they die it is believed their souls go underneath the sea, and disappear off the three kings (three islands off the North Cape). I once asked the native who gave me this information, if they never tried to prevent their souls from going there. He answered me, by pointing to my shadow on the wall, and asking if I could catch it,—a beautiful illustration, showing the acuteness of intellect which so many of them possess. The same

native, Katikati, a powerful chief of the Thames, narrated a curious tradition, which will afford another illustration of their superstitious credulity. There is a person, he said, still living at Waikatto who was begotten by the attua, his mother being then unmarried. The infant was produced at her left arm-pit, but there was no visible mark left. On his birth he immediately flew up to the sun, where he remained till he became a man. He then returned to the earth, descending in a small canoe, suspended by a rope like sealing-wax. No one saw him descending, but next morning he was seen sitting on the roof of his mother's house. In his descent he saw the evil spirit who makes people sick, and who resides between the sun and the stars. In the sun itself, he said, the people were as numerous as the sand on the sea-shore; and all wanted an arm and a leg, and had their faces turned to one side. They wore no clothes. Their food grew in the space of one night. During his sojourn in the sun, his mother stated that he had been taken up by the attua. He is held as a great prophet; when he says there will be no rain, there will be none. He is a Rangatira, but in appearance resembles other men.

The missionary natives are now (1840) very numerous, and are rapidly increasing, as may be expected among a people so highly susceptible of religious impressions. They are exceedingly punctual in their observance of the outward forms, at least, of religion. They sing hymns every

morning and evening,—a species of devotion in which they appear to take great delight, notwithstanding their utter want of all musical talent.

To the great pleasure which they take in this exercise the missionaries are deeply indebted for a large proportion of their converts, though they do not appear to be aware of the fact, and have not, therefore, taken so much advantage of it as they might have done. The missionary natives, whether travelling or at their own homes, have regular service every Sunday, singing hymns, reading the Testament; and frequently one of them will deliver an exhortation, conducting themselves with the utmost solemnity and propriety. They carry out, to the very letter, the provisions of the "Sabbath Bill," making the seventh day a day of complete rest, in the spiritual sense of that word. They do not travel, nor even do they cook any food. If a European is travelling amongst them they will cook for him, however; but will scrupulously abstain from touching such food themselves. I have had a great deal of intercourse, both with missionary as well as with heathen natives, and must say that the former (if they have not been in the service of the white people) manifest a decided amelioration of character, though certainly not to the extent which their zealous outward appearance would indicate. It is by no means obvious, however, how far their improvement is the result of religious impressions, and how much of it is owing to

the general instruction and intercourse with the missionaries.

Successful as the labours of the missionaries have, no doubt, been, I do think they have themselves to blame that that success has not been much greater. Speaking of the Church missionaries in particular, they have not found their way to the hearts of the natives, and are not so much respected as they ought to have been. One powerful cause of this, has been their adoption of a peculiarly hard and illiberal system of dealing with the natives in commercial matters, which has produced a highly unfavourable contrast in this respect with the conduct of the other settlers. Nor has the contrast been confined to the mere prices of goods given by these different parties; but the comparison has been drawn betwixt the one *as missionaries*, and the other *as heathens or devils*, a designation given alike to unconverted natives and *non-professing* Christians. There is one form of illiberality in the Church missionaries, which has, in an especial manner, militated against their influence, I allude to the practice of *taking payment for Testaments*, a usual price (1840) being a good-sized pig, value 30s. The natives complain of this much; for they are well aware that the good people in England never intended these books to be paid for. I have heard the natives frequently lament the want of Testaments, and no wonder, for I know of one tribe of about forty or fifty individuals—(the most peaceable and well-disposed of any that I have met with,

and certainly as religious), living within a few miles of a mission station, with absolutely only *one* Testament amongst them. This is an actual fact, however incredible it may seem. I have not information sufficient to warrant me in stating that the system of bartering pigs and potatoes for Testaments is general. I hope and believe it is not. Indeed, I had supposed the practice confined to one district; but it spreads wider than this, as it is referred to as existing around Port Nicholson by Colonel Wakefield, in one of his letters, containing an account of that district.

Independently of their susceptibility to religious impressions, there are many other motives by which the New Zealanders are influenced to join the missionaries, and to make some show of religion. I have already noticed one of these, namely, the great pleasure they appear to derive from assembling together, and uniting in singing hymns; but strong inducements are also presented by every form or circumstance, connected with their new character, which can minister to their love of display, so as to afford a favourable and ostentatious contrast to the conduct of those natives who still reject missionary influences. The mere possession of books, and the superior acquirements of the missionary natives, form a powerful inducement to the other natives to follow their example, as there is no people whatever more desirous to acquire information, or more apt and persevering in the pursuit of it. By taking a proper advantage of this, there-

fore, the missionary has very many motives to appeal to ; but he must, at the same time, be cautious to prevent them from suspecting that interested motives influence him. The Roman Catholic priests, for example, have been in the habit of making presents of beads, crosses, Virgin Marys, &c., which the natives, of course, very gladly receive ; but they look upon these as payments for something to be done by them, and conclude that they are conferring a favour by joining that body. This practice, however, is very effectual, so far as the making converts is concerned ; but at the same time it, to a certain extent, confuses their ideas as to the motives of the donors, and doubtless also affects the purity of their belief.

Considering the efforts of the Roman Catholics, and the means they take of making converts, as contrasted with the exertions of Church missionaries and Wesleyan Methodists, the cause above referred to is a minor impediment to the conversion of the natives, compared with the great differences in point of form as well as in more important matters of belief practised and enjoined by these different sects. There can be no doubt that these differences are exerting a most prejudicial influence over the natives, because the teachers of the various doctrines do not rest satisfied with merely inculcating the knowledge of and advantages to be derived from, the belief and practice of their own faith ; but endeavour to impress on the minds of the natives the danger and evil consequences of en-

tertaining the belief of their opponents. The inevitable result is, that the minds of the natives are perfectly distracted. The first effect is the rejection of the teaching of both parties, and a resistance to any attempts made for their conversion ; but when this is overcome by the superior influence and zeal of one of these sects, the intensity of the religious fervour which has been thus excited in the convert, becomes the measure of the uncharitableness and even hate with which he now regards his brethren of the opposition, and no one need feel surprised if even bloodshed should be the result.

For a time at least after conversion, the feelings of the natives are greatly excited, until all traces of their own superstitions become obliterated. After this, reason again obtains the sway, and little fear of excesses are to be entertained. It is lamentable, however, to think that the influence of religion has no sooner subdued and eradicated their savage feuds and enmities, than that very religion is converted into an occasion of strife and bloodshed.

Although considerable differences, in form at least, exist between the Wesleyans and Church missionaries, yet, much to their credit, these have not been prominently brought before the natives, both sects cordially uniting in their efforts. Not only have these two parties adapted their teachings so as not to contrast with and oppose each other, but they have very wisely chosen different localities, so as the more completely to avoid all collision or jealousies, the one body taking the east coast, and the other

the west. In establishing and perpetuating their influence over the natives, I think the missionaries have too suddenly eradicated all traces of the superstitions on which all their laws and customs were based, and which formed the only moral influence to be relied on to ensure their observance. Eradicate from the mind of a native his belief in his attuas, their habitual presence, and power of punishing him when he does wrong, and you lose all substantial influence over him. He will then be left to the unrestricted impulse of his own excited feelings. It is true, the missionary has revealed the true God—his omnipresence and other divine attributes—as well as a future state of rewards and punishments; but this has not the practical influence in controlling their immediate actions which their own superstitions exercised over them. Now, they believe that they will only receive punishment in a future state; but their own attuas inspired them with the constant and immediate dread of its execution. We are well aware that ages have been spent in unfolding and perfecting every moral influence derived from, as well as independent of, religious impressions; and yet, with all this amount of civilization, no nation could exist without the power of the civil law. No such power, however, exists amongst the New Zealanders, and their good conduct ought to excite the greater surprise when we find the controlling influence of superstition removed from them almost without any evil result; for it must be admitted that personal security is enjoyed amongst

them to an extent unequalled in our own country. This fact speaks volumes for the general superiority of their character, and harmonizes completely with what has been already stated as to their quiet, placid, and passionless nature.

As a proof of the existence of this personal security, I would merely notice one instance which occurred to me within a few days after my arrival in January 1840, when I had imbibed prejudices against them, and that to a considerable extent. The story is this. I found a respectable lady, with two young children, living by themselves in a sequestered place near the Bay of Islands, far from the residence of any other settler, and distant only a couple of miles from a village of the natives, who were constantly passing and repassing. On inquiry I found that the lady had not the smallest apprehensions of her neighbours, though she had occasional fears of some of the worthless characters among her own people.

To return, however, to the missionaries. There can be no doubt that their labours have been of much service in civilizing the New Zealanders, nor ought we to quarrel with them for not having accomplished more. Neither would I join in the indiscriminate censure which has been passed on them as traders and land-jobbers, which many of the Church missionaries undoubtedly are, and to which there could not be so much objection did it not cause their religious professions to appear so opposed to their practice. I am very sure that all they

can ever obtain by such means must be but a miserable recompense for the many years of living martyrdom which they have endured, and the extent of which bitter experience alone could estimate. Before, therefore, they are condemned, it should be taken into account that the success of the missionaries in New Zealand is chiefly referable, not by any means to a wish on the part of the natives for religious instruction, but to their hope of selling them land, building houses, or general trading. Such motives alone will first influence the natives, and upon this the religious superstructure must continue to be, as it has hitherto been, reared.

Though the New Zealanders cannot be called fickle, they are not at all remarkable for fixity of purpose. In forming their opinions, and coming to a decision even in the small matter of the sale of a basket of potatoes, it would be nothing strange for them to consider over it for an hour; but their bargain once made, though they should even discover it to be a bad one, they will not indulge in regret or give themselves the smallest trouble about it. The act when done is final; still there are to be found amongst them some vacillating and childish persons, who put the settlers to much trouble and annoyance in getting them to give up a bargain, and restore matters to their original position. This feeling of satisfaction and apparent firmness of purpose ought not to be ascribed, however, to a blind determination to adhere to what they have promised or performed, but arises from

an *intellectual* perception of self-interest, from which their *feelings* are unable to sway them.

Though the New Zealanders are possessed of much kindness and generosity, with a great susceptibility of religious impressions, and are endowed with many other good qualities, their moral character is still very deficient in one of the most essential points—namely, the sense of justice, or conscientiousness. This elevated feeling can scarcely be discovered to exist amongst them. When they do what is right, if the particular occasion were minutely inquired into, it would be found that their conduct had been the result of very inferior motives—at all events, that neither justice nor conscience, for its own sake, had any share whatever in the decision. Notwithstanding, therefore, the many good qualities which they exhibit in practice, it is found that they have no consistency of conduct or action, and cannot be calculated upon. On any particular occasion, therefore, even with a full knowledge of the leading features of their character, and the motives which generally influence them, it is hardly possible, *à priori*, to say how they will act, their conduct depending on the view they may take of their own interest, or the feelings which may for the moment be predominating.

Their promises are not in the least to be relied upon, for they will not scruple to break them if no stronger motive than the sense of justice urge their performance. This more particularly applies to such of them as have been instructed by the mis-

sionaries, and have mixed much with the Europeans. The effect of this instruction upon the *inferior* minds among the natives, is decidedly to make them worse members of society. Nor is it difficult to discover the solution of this apparent enigma. As already stated, superstition, in one or other of its varied forms, is the basis of the social fabric of the New Zealander; and when this is eradicated from his mind, he is left entirely to the guidance of his own feelings, the restraining influence of religion *on such a class of minds* being as nothing in the balance; their instruction, in fact, has only enabled them to become the more expert rogues. It is amongst this class, therefore, that the national defective sense of justice is so striking. The same class of minds under their primitive superstitions would have been infinitely more trustworthy and better members of society, because they would then have been effectually restrained by their own laws. This, therefore, seems a sufficient explanation of the anomalous fact, that the worst natives are always those who have received missionary instruction, and thus many people have been induced to question the good that the missionaries have really done. The truth, however, appears to be, that such instruction applied to the better class of minds improves them very much, while in the case of inferior minds it does harm, as nothing short of the civil law and physical force can now restrain them. Thus crimes unknown among them may soon be expected to grow up, unless they

can now be restrained by civil authority. For example, the crime of stealing was almost unknown among them, and the settlers were also perfectly secure in this respect with the natives of their own tribe ; so much so, that it is a *universal* practice with traders to leave their goods without any other precaution than merely shutting the door of the house, and to remain absent for weeks, or even for months, without the slightest risk of being robbed. The degree of security in these cases seems to be exactly in inverse proportion to the civilization effected by the missionaries and otherwise ; and, however mortifying may be the admission, the truth must be acknowledged, that such security is greatest where these influences have made the smallest progress. Though stealing is not permitted amongst the members of the same tribe, apparently from a conviction of its injurious tendency, yet the members of different tribes steal from each other, and are even encouraged by the chiefs to do so.

The general tone of mind and expression of countenance exhibited by the New Zealander, may be said to be cheerful rather than mirthful. The latter feeling, however, is very frequently elicited by the continual jokes and badinage in which they indulge. Many of them are practised humourists, and will show off the absurdities of each other in the happiest style of irony—an amusement of which they are exceedingly fond. They are also much pleased with jugglery, and some of them can perform tricks very expertly.

Formerly, the young men and women amused themselves in the evenings by dancing and singing, but now they seldom indulge in these, and amongst the missionary natives they are entirely discontinued. The cold, calculating spirit of commerce seems already to have frozen up the genial current of their souls. Instead of enjoying themselves with song and the merry dance, as formerly, they are absorbed in thinking of their next bargain with the Europeans.

The intellectual capacity of the New Zealanders is of a high order. Many of them have fine intelligent countenances, with the expansive forehead of a philosopher. The shortest intercourse with them is quite sufficient to satisfy any one that he is dealing with minds in no degree inferior to his own, and that knowledge only is wanting to enable them to become formidable rivals in mental superiority. They are admirable speakers—their manner is very animated, and full of natural and appropriate gesture. Speech-making is a universal and favourite amusement, and forms the regular social entertainment. On occasions of a ceremonious meeting, their conduct would bear a very favourable comparison with the best conducted meetings in civilized communities. A New Zealand audience listens to the speaker with the utmost attention; nor is there any chance of his meeting with interruption—on the contrary, he will be listened to in the most profound silence so long as he may continue to address them.

I was present at the great meeting, which ended in the treaty of Waitangi, when the cession of the country was obtained, and being the first New Zealand audience which I had seen, was much struck with the order and decorum, but still more with the deep attention which they paid to the matter on hand. They listened to the reading of the treaty with the greatest interest,—their earnest countenances amply testifying at least the importance which they attached to the proceedings, if not to their comprehension of them. On the treaty being read over and explained, they were invited to express their opinions on the subject, which many of them did with great eloquence—some approving, and others disapproving, of the Governor's arrival and proposals to them.

To make up for the want of a raised platform, which obtains for our speakers the better attention of the audience, the New Zealand orator secures an opening in the assembly, so as to permit him to advance and retreat, for the space of ten or twelve yards. A sentence is delivered while he advances, ample room being thus given for all the energy and effect which the united power of mind and muscular exertion can accomplish; and when he retreats, he finds time to arrange his ideas, as well as to obtain a temporary rest for his muscles. In this way they continue alternately advancing and retreating, until they have exhausted their ideas. When their speech is of much importance, every sentence is repeated. In such exhibitions,

they find their chief pleasure; but on ordinary occasions they are continually talking with each other, showing that their pleasures are evidently of an intellectual character. It is difficult for a European to sleep near them on this account, as their talking is even continued during the night. Their speeches are frequently very interesting, embracing minute historical details of tribes and individuals—their rise and fall—reverses and successes in war, &c.

But a few examples will best illustrate the mental capabilities of the native. Shortly after Captain Hobson's arrival, the prices of the various articles of produce fit for the settlers suddenly rose, and a lucrative trade was for a time carried on by small vessels going round the coast, and collecting supplies. Quickly perceiving this, some of the Thames natives purchased a small vessel, manned her themselves, keeping a white man to navigate her, and carried on an excellent trade in buying pigs, and carrying them to the Bay of Islands for sale. They show the greatest desire to get traders to settle amongst them—not, however, from any particular love towards them, but on account of the articles which are thus brought amongst them; and once there, they know well, from past experience, that the goods will soon become their own, whether for value or not; so keen are they, and so alive to their own interests, that it is a well-known fact, that no trader goes among them who is not sooner or later ruined from the extent of credit which they contrive to

obtain, and never redeem. The ingenious devices which they employ to get into debt are inconceivable. If the settler has any weak point, they will soon discover it, and assail him through its medium. The settler indeed has no chance with them; for, however cautious he may, in general, be, he cannot always be on his guard; and, as they are ever acting in concert, they are at no loss to take every advantage which occurs. There is one case deserving of notice, as showing the character of the natives in a very high moral, and intellectual point of view. One of the oldest settlers,—a highly respectable gentleman, and possessing at one time the command of great means,—from reverses of fortune, and other causes, became completely deranged. In this state of mind he would take fits of benevolence, and give away to the natives large quantities of property. Seeing that this would soon leave him without anything, and he being highly respected by the natives, one of their number—a very intelligent and excellent man, named Joet—took possession of the gentleman's store, and prevented him from throwing away any more of his goods, until an authorized person came to undertake the management. This case requires no comment—the amount of self-denial, energy of moral purpose, and intellectual capacity here exhibited, are all admirable, and not very frequently found united in individuals of the most civilized communities.

The New Zealanders are eminently distinguished

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for acting from reason, and not from passion. However absurd in many cases their reasons may seem, still it will be found that it is reflection, and not passion, that is guiding them. It is therefore not surprising to find them very easily taught, as well as most eager to obtain information. A person well acquainted with their capabilities informed me that he would undertake to teach any one of them to read and write in the course of a fortnight; and the statement derives confirmation from the great numbers who have these acquirements, and that too amongst tribes who have had no intercourse with the missionaries. If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts, and they will continue for days with their slates in their hands, and soon make satisfactory progress. I was very much astonished to see an instance of this kind while on an excursion up the Piako, in the valley of the Thames, in 1840. Coming to a small temporary station, I found about twenty natives engaged in fishing for eels, and curing them for future supplies. On looking into their huts I observed some of them were busy with their slates, and found that they were learning to read and write. They are constantly sending letters to each other, and some idea of the extent of their correspondence may be gathered from the fact, that the postmaster at the Bay of Islands informed me that he had seen a bundle of native letters a foot square, in his office, at one time.

Some of these letters do the writers great credit, exhibiting much good feeling as well as mental ability.

The native language is very expressive, but the greater proportion of the sounds being nasal, they are not agreeable to our ears. The names of natural objects are frequently very appropriate,—the sound becoming an echo to the sense. For instance, the native name for the wood-pigeon, is “kukupa,” which, as nearly as possible, resembles the cry of that bird. By the way, it is much to be regretted that the Government, instead of adopting the appropriate, and frequently beautiful, native names of places, are changing them as fast as possible,—each officer being eager to leave behind him some memento of his “little brief authority.” The land for the township had scarcely been a day purchased ere we had “Auckland,” “Mount Eden,” “Mount Wellington,” “Mount Hobson,” “Hobson’s Bay,” “Matthew Point,” “Rough Point,” &c. &c. &c., *usque ad nauseam*.

Notwithstanding the great aptness which the natives manifest in acquiring knowledge, it is surprising how very few are to be met with who understand a word of the English language. I have only met with two persons who could at all make themselves understood in English, and one of them had visited Britain. This circumstance arises in the first place from the great difficulty which they experience in pronouncing our language. For instance, the nearest approach they can make

to pronounce Trembly (a man's name) is "Temara." Carpenter, they call "Carmura;" Webster becomes "Weipea;" Abercrombie, "Carabite." This apparently natural defect in their organs of speech has been consolidated and rendered permanent from the missionaries having discarded the letters b, c, d, f, g, j, l, q, s, v, x, y, z, from the alphabet; and though at first sight there may appear good reasons for so doing, seeing that the natives cannot sound these letters *by themselves*; yet they do sound them, or at least the greater part of them, in peculiar combinations. For this reason, it is conceived that some of these letters, at least, should also have found a place in the alphabet. For instance, the native word for a vessel is *written* "kaipuke," but is very distinctly sounded kaibuke. Again, *riwai* is the *written* name for potatoes, but is pronounced *lewai*. The difficulty which the natives experience in pronouncing our language has probably had its influence in deterring the missionaries from attempting to teach them English. But difficult as this no doubt would have been, success, even in a few instances, would have done more for their civilization than teaching a hundred merely in their own language, confined as that necessarily is, almost exclusively, to the Scriptures,—cutting them off, therefore, from every species of information not presented by and through the missionaries. The necessary consequence is, that before they can ever be expected to make any progress in knowledge, they must yet be taught English, or some other European language.

I much fear, however, that this is not to be expected from the missionaries; or that they will even countenance the design. It will hardly be credited when I state, that a few of my acquaintances, impressed with the great necessity and importance of such an undertaking, made an attempt to raise funds and procure personal assistance, with the view of making the trial. Having, however, solicited the aid of one of the church missionaries, the surprise was great when he stated that he would not merely employ his own influence in obstructing such an attempt, but would procure the aid of the missionary body also; assigning as a reason, that the natives would only learn every species of vice through the medium of the English language. After such a decided negative as this from parties so influential the attempt was necessarily abandoned, as the hope of its success, in the then state of the country, was only in the active assistance and co-operation of the missionaries.

The New Zealanders in their expressions are occasionally highly sentimental and even poetical. To "darken the heart" is a common phrase. A chief one day asking when he was to obtain payment for some land, thus expressed himself: "When will the heart be made alive by making payment for the land?" When they undertake the office of peacemakers, they will say that "they have come to cure the hearts of the parties from bearing ill will towards each other." Their expression for "handsome," "beautiful," is "ata ahua"—literally, like the morning.

One of the mental exercises which they appear most fond of is the game of draughts. Many of them are admirable players, greatly superior to the white people. There is one woman at the Bay of Islands famed for her skill at this game. She makes a practice of going on board every new vessel that comes into the harbour, carrying a quantity of goods along with her, for the purpose of gambling with any one whom she may tempt to play. In this way she has accumulated a good deal of property. She has never met with any one able to conquer her.

CHAPTER III.

Recapitulation of the Prominent Features in the Character of the New Zealanders—Hopes of their Improvement, if the means are employed—Reasons for these Expectations—Effects of Colonization—State of Natives before Captain Hobson's Arrival described—Their respect for our Physical and Moral Power—Loss of Moral Power—Causes which effected it—Treaty of Waitangi—Based on Injustice, and entered into through Ignorance—Bill passed by the Sydney Legislature for effecting a Settlement of Land Claims—A source of Discontent—Deception practised towards the Natives—Loss of Physical Power—Causes—Robbery of Forsaith, and compromise by Government—Robbery of Settlers at Wangarei—Murders at Robertson's Island—Trial and Execution of Maketu—Exhumation—Another Murderer lodged in Jail, and given up without Trial—Tauranga Massacre—Land Questions—Government purchase Land a second time at Monganui—Results in a Battle between the Tribes—Question of Surplus Land—Government attempt to seize upon it, and Hostile Manifestations on the part of the Natives—Seizure of Surplus Land an Afterthought—Wairu Massacre—Government Attempts to Survey unpurchased Land—Progressive Advancement in Knowledge, and European Customs—Desire for Horses, Cows, &c.—Cultivation—Individual instances of Improvement—Bad feelings betwixt Natives and the Settlers at Cook's Straits caused by acts of the New Zealand Company—Captain Fitzroy's Arrival—Clamours of the Natives to be allowed their Rights of disposing of the

Land—Their Opposition to Customs Regulations—Partial Freedom of Selling Land permitted—Its Effects—Native Disturbance—Flag-Staff cut down—Troops sent for—Free Trade declared, and Restrictions on the Sale of Land removed—Effects of these Measures.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that the intention in thus giving such a minute detail of the mental characteristics of the natives of New Zealand, is to exhibit merely the general features of the mind—in other words, the native character when not under the influence of excitement. Taking individual cases, they would undoubtedly present an aspect very different from what has been described, in the same way as every collection of individuals, savage or civilized, will always afford instances of the extremes of character—some utterly depraved, with at least an apparent, if not a real, absence of every moral and intellectual faculty, while others, again, will exhibit these in the very highest degree. Both of these classes may be found among the New Zealanders, but I have said nothing of either, having merely shown that phasis of character developed by the great majority, because it is this alone that constitutes the standard by which the New Zealanders are to be estimated, and on this only must every measure for their amelioration and civilization be based. The reader, in judging of the accuracy of this description, will therefore bear in mind that it is not to be condemned because many *individual* instances of exception to it may be adduced; but let these people be

examined as a mass, and it will be found that their character and actions *as a body* will correspond with what has been written : it should, however, always be borne in mind that the experiment must be made under ordinary circumstances, and not when the natives are under the influence of undue excitement.

The mental peculiarities of these people being ascertained, it will be expected that some use be made of the knowledge for the benefit of the natives, as well as their civilized brethren,—the settlers who have occupied their country,—and seek, not merely to live in peace with them, but also to raise and ameliorate their present condition.

The analysis which has been given of the character of the aborigines exhibits them in the first stage of social existence, and proves that their domestic affections are much less powerful than we are accustomed to find, not only among civilized, but even in other demi-savage nations ; while, on the other hand, their ties of tribe or clanship, are much stronger than amongst European nations. For instance, we see that the smallest affair affecting the interests of one member of the tribe is deemed of sufficient importance, not merely for the notice, but even for a long and serious discussion by the whole tribe. If a death occurs the grief is not merely shared by the tribe with the relations of the deceased, who are commonly the least affected by the event. In enumerating, however, the peculiarities of temperament on which these

characteristics depend, we find that the New Zealanders have the fighting or opposite propensity very moderate, their angry or vindictive feelings also small, and easily allayed even when excited. We further find that they are not naturally cunning, but open ; while we see too, on the one hand, that they are a nation of traders, exhibiting the utmost eagerness to possess the goods of others, they are scrupulous as to the means—using honest and even laborious industry, where others might not even hesitate to steal. Combined, however, with this powerful desire of accumulation, we find that they have kind and generous natures, and part with their acquisitions with as much readiness as if they were the recipients rather than the givers. We also see that they are not proud and distant, but affable, courting eagerly the praise and good opinion of others. It should also be remembered, that this good opinion is sought in respect of the higher moral qualities, and not, as one might have expected in the case of a demi-savage people, as a tribute to the intensity of hate and revenge—to the possession of the greatest number of wives—to skill in the practices of deceit. Neither is it asked, on the score of the native being the best boxer, the deepest drinker, or the most accomplished profligate ;—characters which are, even to this day, not altogether expelled from civilized society. No: the cannibal New Zealander, in despite of many evil practices, emulates higher virtues, the chief of which are bravery and

generosity,—the absence of hatred and anger, and the evenness and placidity of a temper regulated by the dictates of reason. Whatever falling short in the case of individuals, or even of masses, there may be in the attainment of these virtues, it is encouraging, as affording the best grounds for anticipating great advances, to find that there is no part of what may be styled their code of morality, or what they deem it any honour to aspire to, that is not really estimable in itself. It is true that they are very deficient in conscientiousness, which must operate very injuriously; but they may easily, by the stimulation of the good qualities they possess, be led to do what is right, if not for the right's sake. In this recapitulation of their peculiarities, must not be omitted their powerful religious tendencies, though I feel very certain that these will not continue to have an influence equal to that which they exerted while the minds of the natives were ignorant and superstitious; but this only points out one of the many applications which a knowledge of their real character should direct us to make. It shows that the missionary must not be contented with merely communicating religious knowledge to the natives, but he must, by example as well as by precept, *train to* activity all their best faculties to insure moral conduct—nay, even to keep that conduct up to its present standard. To this enumeration of the motives of conduct and action in the New Zealanders, it remains to add, that their intellect fully equals that of our countrymen; and while their genius is

eminently of a practical nature, and they are keenly alive to their own interests, the fact ought never to be lost sight of, that their feelings or motives to action are in a remarkable degree subservient to the dictates of their reason, which is saying more for them than could be affirmed of most civilized nations. With such capabilities, therefore, there never was a better—nay, never even so good an opportunity afforded to the religious, or even to the mere natural philosopher, for trying the experiment of raising a savage into a civilized being—a heathen into a Christian. And if our Government are really actuated by the humane feelings which they have expressed, and truly desire to see the grand experiment practically made, they have only to use the means, and they may rest satisfied that the result will be most satisfactory. But until these means shall have been fairly tried, and have failed, let there be no more pretended interest or mock humanity expressed for these or any other natives, for they will not be believed or assigned to any higher motive than a desire to soothe the minds of the friends of humanity and religion, whose beneficent desires it is not intended to promote or countenance, beyond the formality of a bare recognition and approval.

It must be gratifying to the friends of the helpless aborigines of new countries, who have hitherto melted away at the approach of civilized man, to know that there are especial reasons for believing that the New Zealanders are reserved for a better

fate. One of the most prominent causes of our failure, in respect of other demi-savages, will be found to exist in the vast inferiority of their minds generally; or, at least, in the entire dissimilarity between the two races; but this does not hold with regard to the New Zealanders. On the contrary, their natural capacities, mental as well as moral, are of a high order, and eminently fit them for amalgamating easily, at no distant period, with their civilized brethren. Their pursuits, too, it should be remembered, are very much the same; the New Zealanders rather exceeding the Europeans in their love of trading and other commercial pursuits. Neither are they, like other savages, devoted to war, leading a wandering life, and existing by fishing and hunting. They would most eagerly abandon the few warlike habits they may still possess for the security afforded by the Europeans, and, for their subsistence, would be equally willing to cultivate the ground, as they have been in the practice of doing from time immemorial.

Another reason for the probability of this amalgamation exists in the fact, that the New Zealanders *have been recognised as the rightful owners of their own lands*, and therefore entertain no feelings of hostility or hatred towards the settlers. How different, however, has been the conduct observed to other savages by Europeans, who, under pretence of being the friends of the natives, have proved themselves little better than robbers and destroyers! Under such circumstances, how was it possible that the injured

natives could ever come to regard their invaders with any other feelings than those of hatred and desire for revenge, which would be increased, too, in their intensity in the case of the New Zealander by the mental superiority they doubtless possess over other uncivilized nations.

But from the New Zealanders we have taken nothing that they did not freely give; nor have we lowered them in their own estimation by subverting their power, or wounding their dignity. We have rather added to these—at all events, may easily do so, consistently with their advancement in civilization, as well as with our own interest and the general prosperity of New Zealand.

In order to promote the good object in view, I shall point out a few of the many improvements that would require to be made on the present system, or rather, absence of system; for hitherto no improvement has been attempted. In many cases positive and direct evil has been done to them; our Government has not hitherto made the slightest attempt at any measure of good.

For the better understanding of my suggestions for their improvement, it will be necessary to give a short account of the present state of the New Zealanders, as the analysis of their character was written so long ago as 1840, and their feelings having undergone considerable modifications since that period, in consequence of our extended intercourse with them.

In the beginning of the year 1840, when Captain

Hobson arrived in New Zealand to establish British authority, he found an extensive trade carried on between the settlers and the natives. The settlers, flushed with past prosperity, and enjoying still brighter hopes of the future, had pushed their enterprising spirit into every part of the country where vessels could go, or where produce of any kind could be obtained. The natives were actuated by similar feelings. To satisfy their increasing wants, they made every effort to raise additional supplies, and effected sales of land, now so eagerly sought after by the Europeans, but not less valued by the natives, not only on account of the large quantities of goods to be obtained for it, but also from their anxiety to get Europeans to settle among them for the purposes of trade;—a sale of their land being, in *their* estimation, sure to effect this object. Like the settlers, therefore, the natives were, at the period of Captain Hobson's arrival, hoping much from the future. Not merely did they anticipate increased trading advantages from the additional number of settlers to which they looked forward, but we were regarded by them as beings of a higher order. In physical power we were acknowledged to be vastly superior, and they were impressed with this fact by the sight of our ships of war, and the feeling was continually kept alive by individual exhibitions of that superiority; as a single settler, by his courage and determination alone, would frequently withstand and frighten off numbers of natives bent on robbing or otherwise molesting him. But,

however manifested, or on whatever grounds it rested, it cannot be disputed that, at the period referred to, our moral and physical power were regarded by them with the utmost respect; and it is mortifying to make the admission, that ever since that period the respect of the natives, both for our moral qualities and physical power, has been gradually weakened by our own conduct, and to such a degree as to have entirely changed the nature and objects of the very government, and even to have endangered our personal safety in the country. Nor is it difficult to discover the causes which have led to such a result.

The first in date, as well as of importance, as a cause of this change, is the treaty of Waitangi, or cession of the sovereignty and right of pre-emption over all the lands in the country.

At the time this treaty was under consideration, very many of the natives opposed it, though their opposition, after all, must be looked upon as mere talk, seeing that they neither *did* nor *could* comprehend the effects of such a measure; and, as might have easily been foreseen, they ultimately did as the Church missionaries advised them. Many who signed the treaty (not missionaries) did so because other great chiefs had set the example, and the white people never having before—for the best of all reasons, the want of the power—taken advantage of them, they set their hand to the deed; but it would be mockery to say that they gave their consent. Ever cautious, however, and acute in

their perceptions, many of those who signed the treaty under the circumstances just adverted to, refused, as stated by Capt. Hobson, to receive the presents usually given on such occasions, "fearing that these might be construed into *payment* for the land."

It is not now the time to speak of the number of signatures, or the improper influence made use of to obtain them,—suffice it to say, that the farce was gone through, and the treaty said to be formally assented to. The opposition of the natives arose merely from an undefined feeling of dread that they were, in some measure, compromising themselves and their rights, though they could not comprehend exactly how. When anything like a tangible opposition was made, there can be no doubt whatever that it was prompted by some of the settlers. Still, however, their opposition amounted to little, as they could not, even by the settlers, be made fully to comprehend either the reasons for, or the objections to, the measure.

Since the treaty, however, is held to have been properly executed, it is useless now to offer objections to it; but as the grounds on which it is attempted to defend it, are its supposed advantages to the natives,—and as these may yet come to be questioned, it may not be out of season to state the principle on which it is conceived the decision should be grounded. If the treaty, and a rigid adherence to its terms, can be shown to be for the benefit of the natives, let it, by all means, be

acted upon. If, on the other hand, it is found injurious to their interests, it ought to be abandoned,—on the general principle, that we were not justified in procuring their sanction to any measure to which, had they known its object and effect, they would have objected.

The very terms of the treaty bears an amount of injustice on the face of it. It stipulates for the sovereignty of the islands, and the exclusive right of buying all the land; and in effect, though not in words, at *whatever price* the Government choose to give, and at *whatever time* they find it convenient to purchase. In return for all this, what does the treaty pretend to give the natives?—the rights and privileges of British subjects!—in other and more intelligible words, the privilege of being taxed, and living under our civil and criminal laws. Had the natives been made aware of this, they would indignantly have rejected the proposition; and when the execution of the treaty comes to be pleaded against them, let not this be forgotten.

From this point of our intercourse with the natives commences their distrust of the Government, which in the end ripened into open dislike and rebellion. As we have seen, very many of them, from the first, rejected and disowned the treaty. Their dislike was fomented by the settlers, who were, or conceived themselves to be, aggrieved by it; but soon afterwards, and for a time at least, all open demonstrations against it ceased; both natives and Europeans looking on the measures to

be adopted by the Government with the intensest anxiety. Meantime the Government were preparing their plans against the holders of land; and ingratiating themselves with the natives, by making them presents and occasionally buying land. The first purchase was at Monganui, to the north of the Bay of Islands, and led to the fatal tragedy afterwards noticed. No particular change, however, occurred until the announcement of the bill passed by the Sydney Legislature concerning the titles to land. Nothing could exceed the disappointment which it occasioned to all parties: meetings of the settlers were held in various places, and individual and united efforts were made to oppose it. In order to this the minds of the natives were also influenced,—and all the evils, real and exaggerated, of their position were now pointed out to them. This, however, had little influence on them, as they had not yet felt the pressure of any practical disadvantages. But the measures pursued by Government towards the country generally, soon extended their evil consequences to the natives as well as to the Europeans.

These measures, by destroying all confidence in the titles to land held by the old settlers; and by the indefinite and great length of time which, it was soon apparent, would be wasted in ascertaining and determining the small quantity of land that would ultimately be granted to them, destroyed, root and branch, every species of industry formerly existing. This effect was also severely felt by the natives,

as the employers of the traders were now ruined, and they themselves were soon forced to abandon their pursuits for want of supplies. Not only were the natives cut off from this source of emolument, but they could not, of course, sell their lands, as it was only to a very limited extent, and in particular localities, that the Government would purchase.

Thus were the natives made practically acquainted with the great evils consequent on the measures of the Government. In the mean time the extended intercourse with the settlers had wonderfully opened the eyes of the natives, and, of course, no opportunity was omitted of showing them the source of the evil; and thus dissatisfaction was produced and fomented among them.

The infatuated Government proceeded; and gave deeper and deeper offence to the colonists—each measure being more destructive than its predecessor,—until they arrived at the climax of unpopularity; having excited the derision and hatred of every individual in the country—north, south, east, and west. Even the peaceful missionaries could not conceal their displeasure; as their countenance to the measures of Government had, at first, been purchased by promises which were never fulfilled. In addition to these indirect, and perhaps unintentional causes of injury to the natives, the Government are chargeable with practising deception in many ways towards them. For instance, from the importunity of the natives, promises to purchase land were freely made—but to be broken; and, worse

than all, payments for land actually purchased were not duly made; while the repeated but fruitless applications for which, produced, in many cases, the greatest exasperation.

While our moral influence over the natives was, by such means, gradually diminishing, contempt for the physical power of the Government, and of the Europeans generally, was also daily gaining ground. This feeling, though it cannot be said to have arisen from the occasion, at least assumed a more defined character on the trial and conviction of a Captain Leathheart for an assault committed in November 1841, on some natives, under circumstances of great provocation.

The Government, in exercising a well-meaning severity towards the settlers for aggressions against the natives, had impressed them with too high an idea of their own importance; so that, what was intended by the authorities as an act of just retribution and example, was by many of the natives, in their usual boasting spirit, attributed to a fear of their power, and a wish to conciliate them. This feeling soon carried them to greater lengths, being stimulated no doubt by a desire to obtain property, which they could not now easily gain by honest means. On the frivolous pretence of a tapu having been broken, they robbed a Mr. Forsaith, a settler at Kiapara, to a very large extent. The authorities on this occasion made no attempt to punish them, but after sundry interviews with the protector, the matter was hushed up by the

natives making over to the Government a tract of land (12,000 acres) by way of compensation. Considering themselves on the whole successful, the natives,—the very same parties, and within a few months afterwards (March 1842),—made a predatory excursion to Wangari, (a settlement between the Bay of Islands and Auckland;) and, without any pretext of injury received, robbed the settlers of a large amount of property. They conducted their operations in the most deliberate manner; and, lest any opposition might be made, they brought with them a letter from their missionary, Mr. Buller, recommending the settlers to submit to be plundered with the best grace they could, as it would be useless to attempt any resistance. The natives were completely successful; the Government never having made the slightest attempt to punish the offenders, and the settlers to this day are without any compensation for their losses.

Nor should the murders committed at Robertson's Island be omitted in the list of causes acting on the minds of the natives, and gradually engendering contempt for us. These murders, it is true, were the act of an individual—Maketu,—and perhaps were without the slightest premeditation; as his feelings were so ungovernable that they might fairly be said often to border on insanity; and although the offender was ultimately prosecuted to the last extremity of the law, it was well known, even amongst the natives, that the Government would not have themselves secured the criminal;

nor would they offer any reward for his apprehension, and he would not have been taken or tried at all, had not two merchants—Messrs. Wilson and Spicer—at the Bay of Islands (personal friends of the deceased), first offered a reward of 50*l.* for the apprehension of the murderer, and ultimately gone themselves and secured him. Towards the time of his trial and execution there was much excitement amongst the natives, and continual talk of their attempting a rescue. After the execution (March 1842), the tribes connected with him did every thing they could to get his body given up to them; but this was at first refused, on the conviction that, according to native custom, a periodical mourning and consequent excitement would thereby be kept up for years. However, the native clamour and influence waxed in strength, and their applications having been renewed, they were at last successful; and in the following July, the body was exhumed and given up to them. This, to the natives, was a complete triumph; their success being ascribed to our fears. The local press strongly deprecated this act at the time, pointing out its evil consequences; but the Government heeded it not.

Again, a short time after this, one native having murdered another, was seized and lodged in jail, but the natives succeeded in inducing the Government to give him up without any trial whatever.

Soon after came the Tauranga massacre by Teria and his tribe, accompanied with the robbery of a gentleman's station, committed by the returning

victors. All passed over without the slightest attempt being made to punish them, and at a time too when this might easily have been done.

(i) After this, the notion of our weakness and imbecility spread so rapidly, that all power over the natives was really at an end, and the settlers were entirely at their mercy, as much as they were before the Government came to the country, but now with infinitely less security; in so far as the very acts of the latter had, to a certain extent, exasperated the natives against the settlers generally.

Conjointly with these sources of mischief, and the excesses of the natives in giving vent to their feelings of irritation, was accumulating another fertile source of disturbance,—namely, the land question, both as it immediately affected the interests of the natives, and indirectly through the land claimants.

Unfortunate and destructive, however, to the peace and welfare of the country as the measures of the Government had been, ignorance, and perhaps even good intention, may be allowed to mitigate our censure of them; but in the instances now to be alluded to, it is difficult to find any excuse for conduct so outrageous, and so directly tending to the destruction of every good opinion which the natives had ever entertained of us.

I now allude to questions affecting the native as well as European titles to land. The first instance deserving of notice is the case of Monganui, already

alluded to. So early as June 1840, when Mr. Shortland (lately the officer administering the Government) was at Monganui, obtaining the consent of the natives in that quarter to the treaty of cession, he met with a very intelligent and influential missionary chief, called Noble, or Nopera, who represented himself as the rightful owner of the beautiful lands in that quarter, although the natives in possession had conquered them upwards of thirty years ago. Not only had they so conquered and possessed them, but they had actually sold large portions to Europeans, who again had held them upwards of eight years. With all these facts staring him in the face, however, Mr. Shortland did not hesitate to conclude a purchase from Nopera,—at once setting aside the native law or right of conquest, and thereby exasperating all those natives holding property under such circumstances, as well as irritating the Europeans in thus prejudging, before the Court of Commissioners, their claim to the lands.

The Government, not contented with merely making the purchase, resorted to every pomp and ceremony that could be adopted to trumpet the affair, as if the feelings of bitterness were not sufficiently strong. No sooner, therefore, was this purchase completed, than it was notified in the Gazette, accompanied with a prohibition to every one from building houses, or cutting timber on the lands, until permission was obtained from the Government; which, it was intimated, would be granted “on payment of a *small fee* by way of *acknowledgment*.”

This empty bravado was, in a degree, unheeded by the settlers, who felt convinced that British justice would not allow them to be thus despoiled of their lands. It had, however, the effect of destroying, at least, their confidence; so that they were afraid to continue their pursuits, and lay out money in improvements, as they had hitherto been doing; at the same time it produced the necessary consequence of their making common cause with those natives who had sold to them, so as to thwart the measures of Government by every legitimate means.

The irritation thus produced was gradually assuming a serious and warlike aspect between the contending tribes, as Noble's party, though the weakest, now calculating upon the support of Government, thought they should easily make good their pretended rights. No very tangible demonstrations of this occurred, however, until the commissioner went to examine into the land claims connected with the purchase, when the natives in possession, having no faith in the justice to be obtained from the Government under such circumstances, began to assemble their adherents to maintain their rights by force, if necessary; and being joined by other tribes having a common interest in the result of the inquiry, a large number was soon collected. Noble's party were equally active; but neither seemed desirous of fighting if it could be avoided, and they waited for the commissioner's decision. Each party accordingly preferred their claims before him; but as they manifested a strong excitement, the commissioner;

apprehensive of an immediate collision between the disputants, was glad to consult his safety by dissolving his court, under the plea of being unable to decide a question where the rights of the crown and the subject were in dispute.

The irritation on the part of the natives was extreme; but both parties in the mean time separated, though under the conviction that an appeal to arms could alone decide the question. Soon after they met to the number of nearly 5,000 men; two-thirds of whom belonged to the Monganui party, and one-third to Noble's party, when a battle ensued, and about thirty were slain, the Monganui party being the victors. Noble himself fled, thereby losing his rank as a chief. The Government made no attempt to prevent the engagement; but the bishop used every effort, at some personal risk, as did Mr. H. Williams, the oldest and most influential missionary, but without effect. Such were the fruits of this blindfold and most culpable interference on the part of the Government, regarding the titles to land.

Scarcely had a week elapsed after this fatal affray ere the Government were plunged into another, which, at one time, had also a very threatening appearance. This case was an attempt by the authorities to settle a Mr. Terry, who had some flax-cleaning speculations in view, upon a portion of land originally sold by the natives to a Mr. Fairburn, but now claimed by the Government, as that gentleman had only been allowed a small portion of

the land purchased by him. This question of the *right to the surplus land*, over what might be awarded by the commissioners to the land claimants, had been anxiously discussed amongst the natives, as the time approached when the awards to claimants would be made; but this was the first occasion of its being formally acted upon. In the instance referred to, as soon as Mr. Terry prepared to effect a settlement, the natives assembled in a body, threatening to destroy all his machinery unless he quitted the place, as they maintained they had never sold the land to Government; contending that if it were not given to Mr. Fairburn, to whom they had sold it, it must still belong to themselves. At this the Government became alarmed, and were glad to compound the affair by making some presents and promises to the natives, and thereby, for the time, got rid of the troublesome question of the "ownership of the surplus lands."

The progress of events must now be supposed to have settled this question in favour of the natives, or some argument would have been necessary on a matter of so much importance; but as it is, it may be passed over with the remark, that the scheme of Government in appropriating such lands appears to have been altogether an after-thought of the local authorities, but one which has exercised a most baneful influence on the prospects of the colony.

That it was an after-thought, is plain from a comparison of the first clause of Sir George Gipps's bill, with that passed by the Auckland Council, in

June, 1843. The former states merely, "that all titles to land in New Zealand, which are not, or may not hereafter be, allowed by her Majesty, are, and shall be, absolutely null and void;" while the latter states, "that all unappropriated lands within the said colony of New Zealand, subject, however, to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof by the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are and remain crown or domain lands of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, and that the sole and absolute right of pre-emption from the said aboriginal inhabitants rests in, and can only be exercised by her said Majesty, her heirs, successors, and that all titles to lands, &c. &c., are null and void."

These technical words were, no doubt, introduced, so that their meaning might be but dimly seen by those interested; nor were they fully understood until the question of surplus lands came to be discussed, when their import became sufficiently obvious. That the Government at first had no such intention is further shown by Captain Hobson's own statement in a despatch to the Marquis of Normanby, dated February, 1840, wherein he says, "I greatly fear that the conflicting claims for land that will be brought under the commissioners, who are to be appointed to investigate them, will create a violent ferment through every class of society, both native and European. *I know perfectly well the former will resist* the execution of all awards that may be unfavourable to them; and that it will re-

quire a strong executive, supported by military force, to carry such decisions into effect.

"The treatment of fraudulent claims may be easily disposed of *by restoring the land* in all such cases to the original possessors; but there will be a great many most unreasonable demands made for restitution, and much discontent will prevail if they be rejected.

"Another very fruitful germ of discord will be found in the *conflicting claims* of the *natives to land in right of conquest*, all of which have arisen from the suggestions of interested Europeans."

With such knowledge of the character of the natives, and apparent appreciation of their rights, and with such sentiments of justice towards them, it seems quite unaccountable how the Government could have persevered in the line of conduct towards them here described.

Let it not be supposed that this question of surplus land affected merely the natives and the Government, for the unjust principle on which the Government had now based its policy struck still more fatally at the interests of the colony. Government having thus determined to take possession of the surplus land, the commissioners' inquiry was conducted so as to secure to it as large a share as possible; and while they gave every opportunity to the claimant to prove *his purchase* by open bribery of natives, or otherwise, this was no sooner effected than the Government interest and influence was now exerted to discover reasons for awarding him the

smallest possible portion,—the surplus going to the Government. The effects of such monstrous injustice can scarcely be described; it excited the hatred and disgust of every one immediately interested in the question, as well as of those whose interest depended merely upon the general advancement of the colony.

Soon after the settlement of Terry's case came the fatal Wairu massacre, proceeding also from the disputes as to land; and though, in this instance, the Port Nicholson Company must be charged with the blame, as they were unfortunately the sufferers from its effects, this event gave a powerful impetus to the progress of the native dislike to the Government, and their interference with the rights to land.

After this lamentable affair, the land question was suffered for a time to remain in abeyance, so far as the Government were concerned, except in one instance. Shortly after, Mr. Shortland (then administering the government) had received a despatch from Lord Stanley, giving claimants the option of exchanging the particular land awarded to them for other lands in the neighbourhood of Auckland. In order to carry out this plan with all haste, Mr. Shortland, not satisfied with Lord Stanley's intention of permitting the claimant to take town, country, or suburban land, as he might judge most advisable, adopted some fanciful scheme of driving one portion of the claimants to the Tamaki district; another portion were to be settled upon Mr. Fairburn's surplus

land, and a third division of the claimants were to be forced to a new district, about twenty-five miles from Auckland, called Papakura. In his eagerness to accomplish this last plan—with the Wairu massacre still ringing in our ears—Mr. Shortland sent surveyors to the ground, and attempted to lay it off before *purchasing* it. The natives were, of course, highly and justly incensed at such a proceeding, and actually drove the surveyors from the ground three times before they would desist.

This affair, trifling as it may seem, created no little stir among both natives and Europeans; the former feeling their power and influence exalted by their victory, while the Europeans could not avoid seeing how nearly the Government had again been the cause of bloodshed and disaster to the community. Nor was this the first time that the authorities had attempted to take possession of land before arranging with the natives for it. They had previously tried to *survey* a road from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands, and were compelled by the natives, for a similar reason, to desist; and on another occasion, possession was attempted to be obtained in the same summary manner, of a piece of land in the township of Kororarika, actually occupied by the natives, for the purpose of building a custom-house, and in like manner they were compelled to abandon the attempt.

The instances which have now been given are the more prominent ones among many of a similar nature which occurred during the Hobson and Shortland

dynasty, and which destroyed, not only our friendly relations with the natives, but, if carried much further, would have brought ruin upon the settlement. To show to what extent, and how powerfully, this was felt by the community, I shall quote a passage from an address adopted at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Auckland to Lord Stanley, praying for the removal of Mr. Shortland in consequence of a rumour that he was likely to be confirmed as Governor.

“The proceedings of Government with regard to the native population are looked upon by your Memorialists with the greatest alarm and distrust, being calculated, in an eminent degree, to lower the character of the British Government and people in their eyes, and to encourage them to acts of aggression and outrage: the administration of justice towards them, or rather the casual interference of Government with them, being dictated by the purest caprice, instead of being based on a fixed and unswerving system. On one occasion the whole military force of the colony was sent by sea at one day's notice, to a distance of 200 miles, and at an expense of many hundred pounds, to interfere in a trifling quarrel in which no bloodshed had taken place, and in which no greater outrage had been committed than the seizure by the natives of a boat on which they had some real or pretended claim; while, at another time, a savage war takes place, and the proceedings of a British commissioner are forcibly put a stop to without the smallest notice being taken; the most contemptible opinion of the power as well

as the justice of the Government being created in the minds of the natives by these nugatory and contradictory measures."

While these events were undermining our power and influence with the natives, short as was the space of time from the formation of the colony in January 1840, until Captain Fitzroy's arrival in December 1843, the natives had, in the mean time, been making vast progress in the knowledge of their own rights and interests, and also in general intelligence; and those tribes in the practice of frequenting the townships were fast adopting and conforming themselves to the manners of the Europeans. Innumerable instances of this might be given; but as the fact is so generally known, and is a result which would almost, necessarily, be expected from the great capabilities of the natives, I shall merely allude to some of the more prominent and striking illustrations of the truth of this statement.

In the townships the system of barter has ceased, and money has become the medium of exchange. Their pigs are commonly sold at so much per pound,—never below the market price; and many of the natives can perform the necessary calculations as well as the Europeans; and when the seller cannot do this, if he has not previously proved the good faith of the buyer, he will first obtain from him his statement, and then show it to other persons to ascertain its accuracy.

European clothing is much desired by the New Zealanders, in order that they may appear amongst

the Europeans like one of them; and those who can obtain the money, never fail to provide themselves accordingly. Many of the chiefs appear in town not only well dressed, but positively look like gentlemen, and can also behave as such. They now exhibit much anxiety to get sheep, cows, bullocks, horses, ploughs, &c. &c., and corresponding advances are making in cultivation; indeed, there is, perhaps, no purpose to which the Europeans can turn the soil that the natives will not imitate, if not surpass,—making up by their greater numbers and assiduity for the superior knowledge possessed by the Europeans.

But a few individual cases may be given, where, although the natives do not, generally, obtain credit for the same degree of intelligence and propriety, these instances under proper cultivation are decidedly types of the native character.

The first instance which I shall give is that of a chief woman, named Martha, brought up with the missionaries, but now living with her own people about twelve miles from Auckland. This woman has adopted the European costume, and is an excellent sempstress and housekeeper. She rears large quantities of poultry and other stock, which she brings to Auckland for sale, carefully putting the proceeds in the bank.

A chief, living at a portage of the Waikato has an excellent weather-boarded house, and keeps a sort of hotel for the convenience of passengers. His table is not only supplied with plates, knives, and

forks, but is also covered with a cloth. He sits at the head of his board, and does the honours in first-rate style. He keeps a white man as a servant. He makes no charge for his hospitality, but repays his expenses by fees for ferrying across the water.

Another native, further up the Waikato, keeps a grog-shop, and sells his *Waipero*, as he says, to *Hourangi* (drunken) pakehas. He does not, however, indulge in it himself; indeed, the natives, as a body, have a great aversion to ardent spirits, and little evil is likely to accrue to them from this, the most fertile source of misery to other nations, savage or civilized.

Another index of the important and rapid change which the natives are undergoing is the increasing desire which they manifest to be near the European settlements. One of the best and most intelligent chiefs, Patuone, from Hokianga, has already left that place and come to reside in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland; and another chief from the same district, of equal celebrity (Nene), is about to follow his example. Pomare, the well-known chief of the Bay of Islands' tribe, also proposes removal to the capital.

These changes are unequivocal signs of the progress of civilization, and a wish to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the settlers; and every encouragement should accordingly be given to the natives, who are the mainstay of the colony, both as producers and consumers.

I shall merely add another case, as it exhibits the

existence of more exalted sentiments, and is the more valuable from the fact of a number having been the actors on that occasion, and therefore not open to the objections which might be pleaded in an individual instance of partial, or even general superiority.

A party of natives had chartered from one of the merchants, Captain Porter, a small vessel to go to the southward on a trading voyage. When the terms of the charter were in course of arrangement, Captain Porter urged the necessity of great carefulness on their part, as, in the event of the vessel being lost he would be a sufferer to the extent of 100*l*. It did so happen that the vessel was wrecked during a severe gale of wind. As soon as the natives arrived in Auckland, they acquainted Captain Porter of his loss, offering to sign an obligation for the full value of the vessel, which they hoped to pay from the sales of land they expected to make to the Government. Their obligation was accordingly accepted, and will doubtless be discharged as soon as they obtain the means.

While the native mind had thus been expanding in the north,—and under great excitement as to their rights to land, and the privations which they were suffering in consequence of not being able to effect sales of it, and procure settlers to live amongst them, and trade with them as formerly, it is but too well known that still greater excitement and worse feelings existed amongst the natives in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, proceeding, too, from similar causes.

However, there is one very important feature in the one case, which does not exist in the other. In the north end of the island it was the Government and their measures alone to which all grievances were traced, the settlers living on the most friendly terms, and making common cause with the natives against a common enemy; while in the south the settlers generally, from various circumstances, had conceived the utmost dislike to the natives, as the embittered, angry, and even vindictive tone of their newspapers fully testify. The root of all this is clearly the notion entertained by the New Zealand Company, that they had a right to take summary possession of all the lands they claimed. These pretensions were but too fatally resisted, and appear to have engendered a deadly hatred in the settlers towards the natives generally. In many instances immigrants were settled on these disputed lands, and, as might easily have been anticipated, were subjected to every species of annoyance and loss by the natives. Lamentable, however, as were these circumstances, the settlers in justice, after their angry excitement at the moment had subsided, should have laid the blame elsewhere, and not on the natives who were merely defending their rights. The Company may have good claims to possession of the land against the Government; but certainly not *directly* against the natives. It is much to be lamented that the settlers should generally have entertained bad feelings towards the natives, their own sufferings having apparently

blinded their judgment as to the real cause of the evil. It has been too much the custom to undervalue the rights of ownership in the natives, and to defend the Company, on the ground that the land to the natives was worthless; and even the payment for it as nothing compared to the benefit which would arise from the increased value of the native reserves, which appears, in the estimation of the Company, a sufficient reason for taking possession of the land. While no one can dispute the increased value which such lands would be to the natives, it is impossible to justify the forcing such advantage on them against their consent. They will readily sell for a fair price any land but their pas and sacred grounds, so that there is no excuse whatever for forcibly taking their land from them.

But to whatever causes it is to be ascribed, the natives all over the country, by the time of Captain Fitzroy's arrival, were under the greatest excitement regarding their lands, and the various impediments in the way of making them available, so that nothing would satisfy them short of the complete rights of ownership. They had also become fully alive to the incalculable injury they sustained by the taxes on tobacco, then the chief article of consumption, as well as the great change which had taken place in the customs' regulations, and the consequent impediments in the way of vessels from all nations visiting the harbour as formerly.

Captain Fitzroy was not, of course, prepared to

make these changes, though he at once acknowledged that the land regulations had been made with a view to the benefit of the natives *alone*; and, if found injurious, alterations would be accordingly introduced. These alterations he expected to carry through after mature deliberation and inquiry into the subject; but in the course of a few weeks their patience became completely exhausted, and their importunities so great, that a modified liberty of sale had to be ceded to them, in order to preserve the peace of the country. Under the arrangement then made (if the sale was approved of by the Government), the natives were allowed to dispose of the land to any one they thought proper, on the purchaser, in addition to the original cost, paying the Government 10s. per acre. This arrangement, though not at all satisfactory, was accepted as a great boon in the mean time; and many natives disposed of their lands near Auckland at an average rate to them of 17. per acre.

So expert had they become, and so keenly alive to their own interests, that instead of large tracts they would only now sell small patches; and one chief actually went the length of marking off his grounds in regular sections, obliging each purchaser to buy the one adjoining that last sold, and not permitting a choice. This system suited very well those natives who had land adjoining Auckland, because the purchasers could well afford for such land to pay the Government fee of 10s. in addition to the original purchase-money. To those natives,

however, whose lands were distant, these new regulations were of no advantage, as purchasers could not afford to pay the Government fees, and as the real impediment was soon comprehended by the natives, they became more clamorous than ever for the full and unrestricted freedom of sale, by the very taste of liberty which had thus been permitted to them.

However, any further immunities would still have been denied to them, but for a circumstance, trifling in its own nature, though it led to the most important results. The occurrence alluded to was a dispute about a native woman, who had been protected by one of the settlers; and having thus escaped the imprisonment of her master, he, in revenge, collected his tribe, and not only plundered the supposed offender, but likewise some of the storekeepers at the Bay of Islands, the natives accompanying their ravages with unusual violence, and even indecency towards the females, altogether a new feature in their character. They ended their expedition by cutting down the flag-staff, to show the disrespect and contempt which they now entertained for us. The chief, who was at the head of this disturbance, is called John Heki (a descendant of the celebrated warrior E Hongi), a missionary native, and one of the most influential among the chiefs, with whom his superior education and talents had made him quite a leader.

This affair created the greatest consternation amongst the settlers; but particularly those at the

Bay of Islands, as they had been threatened with a second attack, while all hope of assistance from the Government had long since been abandoned; and the apprehensions were the greater, as it was well known that the natives now entertained the idea of possessing themselves of the country, and getting rid of the various grievances under which they conceived themselves to be suffering. The time had, therefore, also now arrived when it behoved the Government either to vindicate the law, and secure the safety of the colonists, or at once proclaim their inability, and permit the settlers to seek the protection of the chiefs, as in former times, —a change which the settlers would gladly have availed themselves of, rather than be deemed to belong to the Government, and suffer a share of the odium which their conduct produced.

There being no military force in the country, a vessel was despatched for reinforcements from Sydney, in order that Heki might be reduced to obedience; and on their arrival, the Governor himself proceeded to the Bay of Islands to direct their movements. Before proceeding to extremities, his Excellency held meetings with other chiefs in the neighbourhood, when he ascertained from them how deep rooted were the sources of grievance, not only regarding the land questions, but also as to the customs' regulations, and the obstacles thereby interposed to the freedom of their commerce. This discovery, added to that of the foreign influences, which were keeping alive the sense of their injuries,

induced the Governor, in order to save a general outbreak with the natives, as well as to do them justice at the same time,—to declare the Bay of Islands a *free port*, that all vessels might enter and depart at pleasure, as they had been in the habit of doing before the Government came to the country.

This bold and decisive measure acted like magic on the natives, as well as on the Europeans; and at a conference held immediately afterwards with Heki's tribe, and those in alliance with him, they acknowledged their perfect satisfaction with the Government, and agreed that all disturbances for the future should cease. The troops, therefore, being no longer necessary, were at once sent back to Sydney, to show our pacific intentions towards the natives.

This advantage to the Bay of Islands was soon followed by the like immunity to the other ports in New Zealand; and at the same time to do away with every cause of complaint against the Government, all restrictions on the sale of the lands were also removed by proclamation of the Governor, dated 10th October, 1844. Thus lands may now be purchased for whatever sum the natives may agree to take, subject only to a payment of 1*d.* per acre to the Government.

In the course of a few weeks, the feelings of both native and European have been completely changed, and the bustle and activity of business have now taken the place of languor and despair, and the foundation of the prosperity of the colony of New

Zealand has at last been laid. The effect of these changes will be rapid in the extreme on all classes, and they must be especially kept in view while devising future measures for the immediate government and advancement of the natives.

Such, therefore, is a brief sketch of the causes and progress of the dissatisfaction amongst the natives, with the conduct of the Government, and the vast changes which have followed. The original designs have thereby been entirely changed; and however extreme and even premature at first sight these changes may appear, every one at all acquainted with the facts, must admit that they were inevitable, if we would avoid a war of extermination with the natives.

The question, therefore, of policy, so far as the theoretical or practical principles of colonization are concerned, would be now a useless discussion,—as these measures, however much they may be objected to in point of theory, or be opposed to the views of her Majesty's Government, cannot *now* be recalled without involving the certain destruction of the natives, and, by consequence, of the colony also; since no one in his senses would remain in it one day after any attempt to employ force in such a cause.

If any one should feel disposed to lament the changes, let the blame rest with Captain Hobson and Mr. Shortland,—who, with the slightest amount of prudence, good feeling, and sense of justice towards the settlers and the natives, could have

rendered this colony, from the commencement, prosperous and happy, and could have carried out almost any scheme of colonization, or even of taxation, which her Majesty's Government might have wished. But, possessing none of these requisites for the trust reposed in them, the colony, comprehending both natives and Europeans, proceeded, by rapid strides, to destruction, from the first moment that its shores were visited by these infatuated individuals. It would be hypocritical to speak in terms of greater respect for the authors of such evils, while their bitter effects are still present and being experienced by every one of the settlers,—many of whom have been entirely ruined, very many have been driven away, and others have been deterred from coming to the country; so that at the end of four years the colony is in a much worse position than when it was taken possession of; and can now only date its foundation from the passing of the measures just alluded to,—rendering that justice to natives and Europeans which had been previously sought in vain.

CHAPTER IV.

Improvement of Aborigines—Government has done nothing—Present Protector's Establishment inefficient—Qualifications for the Office of Protector stated—Sub-Protectors—Native Gazette—Its unbounded Influence—Illustrations—Should be published in English as well as in Maori—Subjects to be treated of—Adjustment of Land Questions—Of Disputes between Tribes—And between them and the Government—Employment for the Natives—Work suggested—Means of stimulating their Industry pointed out—Flax—Wheat—Barley—Oats—Maize—Anxiety to possess Horses and other stock—Dress—Oratory—Newspapers—Policy of permitting the exercise of their own Manners and Customs—Schools—Native Justices of the Peace—Foundation of the Power of the Natives—Military Force—Parkhurst Delinquents—Religious Feuds—Church Missionaries versus the Wesleyans—The Bishop of New Zealand—Native Trust Ordinance—Objections to it—Native Exemption Ordinance—Unsworn Testimony Ordinance.

ALTHOUGH the natives have now obtained their rights, we must not neglect the means necessary to maintain our power over them, to advance their civilization, prevent wars, eradicate their superstitious and savage customs, and to identify their interest with

that of the colonists. Much wisdom and forethought will be required to accomplish these desirable objects.

As this cannot be expected to be achieved by any one mind, however conversant with the peculiarities of the natives,—however able and enthusiastic in the cause the individual may be,—it is the duty of every one to offer his suggestions for the furtherance of the good work. But more particularly is it the duty, as it is the interest, of those to do so whose prospects in life are dependent upon the success or failure of the colony : and being myself one of those individuals, and uniting, with feelings of personal interest, a sincere desire for the improvement and advancement of the natives for their own sakes, I venture to claim for my suggestions a fair consideration.

So far as *Government* is concerned everything is yet to do. No attempt of any kind has yet been made to better the condition of the natives. The missionaries have certainly done much, but the Government nothing : no instruction of a secular—even of a religious nature—has been attempted ; nay, they have not been provided even with medical aid. It is true there is a Protector's establishment, but its sole use, at least previous to Captain Fitzroy's arrival, was to make land purchases for the smallest possible sum for the Government, varying, it is believed, from threepence to sixpence an acre ; and to cajole the natives into a belief of our good intentions towards them ;

in a word, nothing whatever was done for the purpose of improving the natives, the object being merely to preserve our power over them.

The time has now gone by when we might have ruled them by physical power if we had so desired ; but we must now be satisfied to govern by the moral power of justice, humanity, and Christian love, regard being had to the character and capabilities of the people we would thus influence.

In devising measures for the improvement of the natives, our attention seems naturally to be first directed to a special set of officers to suggest, direct, and watch over the execution of whatever means may be resolved upon for the peculiar advantage of the aborigines. Such an institution—in name at least—now exists, under the title of “The Protector of Aborigines and his Establishment,” comprehending the chief protector and six sub-protectors. The intention of this institution is no doubt good, but the humanity and enlightenment which originated the means will not surely rest satisfied until the end is accomplished. As on the efficiency of this establishment the improvement of the natives and prosperity of the country generally very much depends, I am reluctantly compelled to speak of the qualifications of the gentlemen at present composing the establishment ; and truth obliges me to express my decided conviction that they are quite incompetent to discharge the duties of such an office with any prospect of advantage to the natives. I regard Mr. Clarke, the chief protector,

as a kind-hearted, amiable man, and a most worthy member of society ; but it is no disparagement to him to say, that he is neither by education, nor by mental endowments, at all qualified for the arduous and difficult duties that devolve upon him. I doubt not that in selecting him Captain Hobson chose the best man—or at all events, as good a one in every respect as the colony then afforded ; but this is no reason, if he be not properly qualified, for his being continued in the situation when its duties have so much outgrown his capabilities. I do not say that he ought to be removed from his situation without proper remuneration for relinquishing it, but this matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, ought at least not to prevent a new appointment if such should be deemed necessary. I shall not go into a minute detail of the qualifications of the chief or sub-protectors, but merely advert generally to the qualities which I conceive to be essential to the due discharge of these duties.

In the first place, the chief protector should hold his appointment from the Home Government ; and, as far as is consistent with the supreme power necessarily lodged in the Governor of the colony, he should be made independent of the Local Government and its various, and frequently inconsistent, interests. It is true, that if the Government finally relinquish all land-jobbing speculations, their interest and that of the natives may seldom be opposed ; but still many other cases will occur of such adverse interests, and it is obvious that the

protector should be saved the disagreeable necessity of having his duty and his interest brought into collision.

The chief protector ought, if possible, to be a person of first-rate natural ability. He should, in particular, be well acquainted with the various systems of instruction at present adopted in Europe, and possess a cultivated and generally well-informed mind. He should also be a man of great kindness of manner, and strong sense of justice; and, what is quite as essential as any quality I have named, he should have a degree of zeal and enthusiasm sufficient to carry him through the many difficulties he will encounter in the realization of his plans of improvement. If he be a person who will be content with coldly discharging his duties according to the measure of his conscience, he will, after all, effect but little substantial improvement. The protector, in addition to his other knowledge, should, if possible, be skilled in *medicine*, for advice will daily and hourly be required, and must be furnished either by himself or by others; and it would be highly desirable that he should be qualified in this particular, were it only for the sake of the additional respect and attachment which would thereby accrue to him from the natives.

Such are the qualifications and attainments essential to the office of the chief protector of the aborigines, and until a person so endowed be appointed, let no one suppose that our Government discharges its duty towards the natives, or complain of their

tardy advances in civilization. For so grand an experiment, surely patronage might, for once, select the best qualified individual, irrespective of party or personal considerations.

The sub-protectors, after being recommended by the chief, might be appointed by the Governor, and, of course, intellectual and moral qualifications would be duly attended to. With these sub-protectors, however, medical knowledge should be a *sine qua non* in their appointment, as in the out-stations the practice of medicine would be their principal duty. It is a disgrace to the Government that so obvious a want as this should not have been already provided for in the establishment.

There is also another important qualification which the sub-protectors ought to possess, and one to which I do not now refer without having good reason for so doing, and this qualification is—morality and propriety of conduct, and thus, as a general rule, married gentlemen should be preferred to single ones; and I am borne out by facts in saying, that much evil has already been done to the natives by the great laxity of morals exhibited by many gentlemen holding Government appointments.

The number of sub-protectors will, of course, depend on the funds available for remunerating them and other local circumstances. The greater the number, the more efficient will be the establishment.

It is but justice to the natives to say, that the present establishment is not respected by them, and

its influence is nothing to what it ought to be, and might easily be made. Some of the sub-protectors have even been accused of very improper interference between the natives and the settlers. One of these gentlemen used to carry on a regular trade in pigs and potatoes with the natives, telling them that he would purchase all their pigs, and the officer administering the government would buy all the land, and that the settlers were only slaves. In consequence of this the settlers complained that they could not carry on their usual trading with the natives, and the circumstances were taken notice of at the time in the public prints, and led, at least, to a little more circumspection.

After the appointment of properly qualified persons as protectors for the aborigines, some of the more important means of carrying out improvements may be suggested, as well as some of the improvements themselves.

By far the most important engine of improvement is decidedly the *press*. It is no doubt very generally known that a *Gazette*, under the management and superintendence of the protector of aborigines, is published in the native language once every month. This publication might easily be, although it is not now, generally and extensively circulated throughout the island, and be made to influence every native in it; for, be it remembered, that if reading and writing are not general acquirements among them, every tribe in the country possesses

some individuals who are masters of these acquirements, and who would be ready, and even proud, to become the medium of interpretation between those journals and their less accomplished countrymen. I am, therefore, quite warranted in saying, that every native in the country would not merely be made acquainted with, but be influenced by the contents of the newspaper; and that the most sanguine hopes may be cherished of their being converted from a state of barbarism to one of civilization.

Nor is this sanguine expectation the result merely of warm feelings generating such a wish, but proceeds from an intimate knowledge of the real character and capability of the natives, and from which I am satisfied not only that they can apprehend fully the instruction communicated, but that they will regulate their conduct accordingly.

While possessing such an all-powerful instrument of improvement, therefore, it will be asked if no use has been hitherto made of it; but this, like every other useful measure, has been neglected by the Government. The *Maori Gazette* hitherto has been limited to the publication of advertisements and proclamations, with a species of moral stories good enough in themselves, but impracticable, and far removed from the daily interests and concerns which engross the minds of the natives. Occasionally letters from the natives themselves are published, which

show great advances in mental improvement as well as the possession of good feelings, and prove how easy it would be to forward that improvement and perpetuate the power of mind over them.

To show the use which is made of the *Gazette* even in its present form, as well as the acuteness and good sense of the natives, I will instance the answer of one of them to an advertisement inserted in the *Gazette* by Major Bunbury, warning the natives against trespassing on his lands in pursuit of their pigs. The writer, "Te Kai Korero," after repeating the Major's advertisement, observes, that in answer to that prohibition he shall also forbid "all white people trespassing upon *his* lands for the purpose of catching their horses, cows," &c., hinting, at the same time, that his authority in this respect is as good as the Major's. With reference to a notice on the subject of fencing which had reached his ears, the same writer observes, "We have heard that we must fence in our potatoes, corn, &c., before we plant them, lest they should be consumed by the quadrupeds of the white people; now, according to us, this is wrong. If, indeed, our corn and potatoes should trespass on the ground of the white people, it would be right. But it is *their* quadrupeds that come to us. Let *them* be enclosed in a fence that they may not trespass on the ground of the natives."

The native *Gazette* should, if possible, be published at least once a fortnight, and be conducted, as a matter of course, by the chief protector; but it

ought to be published in *English* as well as in *Maori*, that the public may not only be a check upon what may be communicated, but also be led to take an interest in it, and even to contribute to its columns. The public have been most eager to effect such a change already, and have even offered to assist in conducting the paper, but hitherto without success. Captain Fitzroy, however, I believe, is most anxious to make this change; but the embarrassments of his government are so great, that the necessary extra number of printers cannot be employed.

It would be superfluous to specify the various subjects that ought to be treated of in such a publication, as they will readily suggest themselves to every cultivated mind. But in addition to the general information adapted to the improvement of the natives, there should be communicated to them a knowledge of our civil and criminal code of laws, so far as they may affect them, and the moral and scriptural basis of those laws should also be explained to them. This rational method of imprinting the laws on their minds is recommended not merely on this account, but also to gratify their strong natural desire for such species of mental excitement. This course of instruction would, at the same time, afford the opportunity of condemning their own customs, and showing the evil effects which result from their continuance.

As the land question has been, and will continue to be, of the last importance to the natives, not a moment ought to be lost in opening the columns of

the *Gazette*, to obtain all the information essential to the adjustment of this important matter; and nothing can be more simple, if the proper means be adopted.

The various chiefs, through the medium of the *Gazette*, should be invited to furnish information on the following points:—

1. The name of each tribe.
2. Its genealogy.
3. Names and numbers of chief men, and chief women, with their relative ranks.
4. Number of free men and free women.
5. Number of slaves, men and women, with their history—how, when, and where acquired.
6. Number of individuals who can read and write.
7. Number professing religious belief, and to what sect belonging.
8. The number of the tribe at the period when the missionaries arrived in 1815.
9. The number at Captain Hobson's arrival in 1840.
10. The numbers killed in warfare during these periods.
11. The number of deaths from disease, distinguishing, as far as possible, the nature and symptoms of the diseases.
12. Ask each tribe to make a chart of the land claimed by them.
13. Distinguish *each portion* by its native name.
14. Give name of owner of each patch.
15. Mark tapued places.

16. How was the land acquired?
17. How long possessed?
18. What portions sold?
19. To whom sold?
20. What portions are for sale?
21. How much cultivated by themselves?
22. What proportion of produce used?
23. What proportion sold?

The natives are well able, and will be equally willing, to answer all these questions; and when obtained, the information should be published in the *Gazette*, with liberty to the public to challenge its correctness. If this were done, it is obvious that all disputes about the land might soon be arranged. It would thus be seen who were the real owners of land, and whether it would be prudent or not to allow sales of it to Europeans. Nor should it be overlooked that much valuable statistical information, of equal use to the Europeans as to the natives, would at the same time be elicited.

To give an idea of the minuteness with which the natives can describe their lands, and to show also the attention which they pay to the *Maori Gazette*, I shall insert the following extracts from it.

The subject was introduced by the following notice from certain natives, cautioning Europeans from purchasing the lands there described:

“This is a deed to set forth the boundaries of our estate, that it may not be purchased by Europeans, or sold by

natives. This is it, beginning at Ngahina; thence along to the west coast; thence to Taopo; thence to Whaupā; thence to Kaihikanui; thence to Raroa; thence to Aotea; thence to Mairētahi; thence to Te Waiherunga; thence to Puketutu; thence to Waioneke; thence to Haratai; thence to Waipiro; thence to Pararaha; thence to Māntaretare. This is the finishing line on this side, direct over the west coast, and direct over the river.

“Enough. These lands are described lest they should be taken by any person, that they may remain a reserved estate for us, and for our children henceforth and for ever.

“Witness our names.

TE KUNE.

TE TINARA.

TAMAHIKI.

TE WENUA.

PAORA.

TE HIRA.

HIKITIA, for the Ngatiwatua tribe.”

As the object of this advertisement seemed merely to intimate the intention of the parties not to sell the lands referred to, no notice was taken of it; but as soon as they attempted to make a sale of a portion claimed by other natives, an angry discussion at once took place betwixt them.

In a subsequent number of the *Native Gazette*, the editor thus alludes to it:—

“We are greatly provoked with the conduct of these people,—at their strife about the land. One party says ‘it belongs to us;’ the other answers, ‘it’s false, the land is ours:’ who is to know the right from the wrong? However, this we know, that on the publication of the

notice of Kaihau's party, respecting their lands, in the newspapers of September, we received no notice from the Ngatitamaoho in contradiction of Kaihau's; therefore we imagined it to be correct. Afterwards we heard that Kaihau's party had no business to sell Maumuotu; but this is only hearsay, and the contention is still going on."

These remarks called forth the following reply from the two chiefs of the Ngatitamaoho tribe, and was published in the following number of the *Gazette* (February 1843):—

To the Editor —.

"FRIEND,—We have seen your article that was printed in the newspaper of January, saying, 'On the printing of Kaihau's party's, about their land in the newspaper of September, you had not heard that the Ngatitamaoho denied that letter,' therefore we write this letter that you may see the boundaries that have been secretly written by Kaihau. The lands about to be described really belong to us, and some of those places are included in the Kaihan's book, but they are included wrongfully. Now the boundary commences at Otutawake: Otutawake Pukeakauahi, tokatapu, pakaraka, Maukuku, tiraroa, porohau, paeakeuke,* parehetawa, kawukawa, pukewharangi, muriwhenna, opango, hereputuputu, pumai lungalunga, ruwaimoko,* kaitara,* otara, mataparu waimoko, kauwerohia, owhan, tabuatutu,* aratitia potaka, Waihihi, te pakipaki, te Ahauapakewa, Waitawhaua, taumoana, Kokonui, pukewhan, pukepau, pokorua wainui, pehia-

* Land in dispute.

kura, Orangi pukemiro, te Kauri, te tumaro, hautapu, te Karaka, te rere, te Karoro, Kumukowai, Pokopoko, Ngamatawairenga, te Huaheke, Taurangaruru, Ngakiripakauri, Takapuahia, te Karaka, Mangatoetoe,* Ngarua,* Kaweirauhue,* Ngarou Wakauhoko,* Tawarikorari, Pukawakawa, Peketapapa, Reureu, Whaukotuku, Te Ranga,* Moturoa, Tawaruru, Tokatoka, te Whara,* Okowhao, Purapura,* Te Tutu, Paerau, te Hue, Opu,* Teauaunga, kaikihihihi, Mataparu, te Tuwa, Ngateke, Oroau, te Mauku, te Roroamauahiahi, Opatu, kirikiripinau, Matawai, Orangi, Opitori, Kahuera,* titi, Pukeatua, Matara, te Aute, Okuru, Tapuirau, Pakautua, Tuapango, te Rata, Otawahi, Katikaha, Patumahoe,* Tutaia,* te Hihi, Kohihi, te Reoreo, Takamoko Takahia, te Rakekohe, te Hoho, Taparahirahi, Muketu, Puketutu,* Pukekaraka, Kahumauroa, te Waerenga, Mangawean, Houpuni, Whatakoroamo, Puwha, te Weranga, Reao, Porourao, Oruru, Raotawa, Paremata, Patumahoe, te Kukau, Tahakoai, Pakahuahua, Remukuri, te Rereatupato, te Paki Remungaraku, te Ngihangiha, Parekura,* te Muhu, Nahinahi, Okau, te Wharangi Pukehinahina, te Jwairoa Awakanapu, Motukokuko, Tuwururu, Kurarawaha, Tuoro, te Ururewarewu.

This is the boundary of our lands; and if this book is contradicted by any one, we shall at once say he is a false man. This is all.

By us,

WILLIAM WESLEY,
WILLIAM WATERS."

* Land in dispute.

Having thus paved the way for the adjustment of the land questions, it would be well to carry the inquiry still further; and each *tribe* should be requested, (and they will readily comply,)—

To give a statement of the grievances which one tribe may have against another, and to say what they propose doing or demand to be done, in order to settle differences, and be again on terms of friendship.

A knowledge of the differences existing between the tribes would obviously be of great use, both in directing the conduct of Government in relation to those tribes, as well as enabling the protector to effect a reconciliation. If he would take the trouble, the tribes would readily permit him to act as umpire, with every prospect of his recommendations and decisions being acted upon.

The natives also should be invited to communicate freely any grievances which they may suppose they have against the Government itself; candour on both sides being essential to the exposure as well as the redress of abuses.

One of the greatest obstacles to the improvement of a nation just emerging from barbarism has always been the difficulty of finding them employment, so as to prevent them from relapsing into their old habits. If proper means be adopted, there will be no great difficulty in accomplishing this desirable object; for, happily, the New Zealanders are, in this respect, very different from other semi-barbarous nations, their energies being easily directed; and

the slightest amount of trouble will find ample employment for them. When muscular exertion fails, they will amuse themselves in making speeches, and derive therefrom as much pleasure and excitement as would a more civilized community.

It cannot be expected, nor is it perhaps to be wished, that Government should make a practice of giving employment to the natives, as it is well known that private enterprise can, generally speaking, effect the same object more efficiently and at less expense: but there are always works of a public nature which can only be efficiently, in a new country, carried on by the Government. The most important of these is the formation of roads as a medium of communication.

For the advancement of the colony generally, as well as for the special benefit of the natives, a grand attempt should therefore be made to open a road between Auckland and Port Nicholson,—an undertaking, it is generally believed by those well qualified to judge, of no great difficulty beyond the mere outlay of the money in the first instance.

If such a measure were resolved upon, let its great advantages be first pointed out to the natives; and there is every reason to believe that they would not only freely give the land necessary for the purpose, but that each tribe would contribute the necessary labour to carry the road through their own land. Admitting, however, that land and labour would require to be paid for, in what way could the same amount of money be applied with

equal advantage to the natives and to the settlers? The colonists would most willingly contribute to the object to the utmost of their ability, and surely the home Government would not withhold its aid. But if every other resource should fail, an appeal to the missionary bodies, and the Christian public who desire the welfare and improvement of the natives, would be met with a liberality corresponding to the end desired. With proper roads the communication between the missionary stations would be greatly facilitated, and, as a matter of course, the labours of the missionary would be successful in a corresponding degree.

It would be bad policy to pay the natives for their co-operation in such a work, if it could possibly be avoided, for the obvious reason that they would then suppose the benefit of their labours would be all on the side of the Europeans, while, if they can be induced to give the land, and work freely, they will suppose that the measure is undertaken for their sole benefit.

The roads would of course be surveyed, and their construction superintended by the Government; and if they were in the first instance rendered passable only for a dray, it would be quite sufficient. It has been estimated that such a road could be constructed by the settlers for the sum of 1,000*l.*, and if all other means of obtaining the requisite funds fail, let the useless and extravagantly expensive Government brig *Victoria* be sold, and the saving of her expenses for one year (1,508*l.*) would effect the purpose. A road

to the Bay of Islands should also be constructed, which would be no very costly work.

If the natives were thus led to construct roads, a great number would find employment; but such works would not occupy them long, and are therefore to be regarded only as a means to an end. If roads were constructed, the most distant tribes of natives, who are now in a situation to raise produce, could carry on a trade to any extent with the Europeans. It is well known how much some of the distant tribes lament their being shut out from a participation of these benefits, and how much jealousy they evince towards the tribes who, living in the neighbourhood of the settlers, enjoy advantages which the other tribes seem destined never to realize. It is also well known that large quantities of surplus produce are raised in some parts of the interior, and are actually allowed to perish for want of a market. At these places the natives kill pigs for their own use because they cannot find a market for them, or they would not indulge in such a luxury. This, in particular, is the case at Matta Matta, at the head of the valley of the Thames, where the natives not only kill pigs for their own use, but corn and potatoes, in large quantities, are allowed to run to waste for want of purchasers.

When such roads shall have been constructed, there is no fear of the natives not finding ample employment for themselves; but, at the same time, the Government should take an interest in their labours, and if possible *direct* them, and in such a manner as to give full play to their feelings of emulation.

How easy would it be to offer prizes,—a plan which, besides satisfying these feelings in the natives, would be the means, in a few years, of increasing the exports of the colony to an indefinite amount. The Government has literally the power of calling into life and activity the labours of 150,000, or, as some estimates make it, 200,000 natives. Let every production of the country on which native labour can profitably be expended be taken under the care of Government, and a system of prizes—in order to call forth the spirit of emulation amongst the natives—be taken advantage of to increase and improve such productions. For instance, let half-yearly meetings be held, and prizes given,—

1. For the *best cleaned* ten baskets of flax of 50 lbs. each (or for such other quantity as may be deemed advisable). This flax to be of any *quality*.

2. For the ten best baskets of *the finest quality of flax*.

It should be mentioned here that the flax usually prepared by the natives for *sale* has been both ill cleaned, and of very inferior quality. There is one kind, however, which has always been *cultivated* by them, of the very finest quality, almost rivalling silk in beauty, and which has hitherto been used by them for manufacturing their finest mats; and, strange to say, has hitherto been overlooked by all, and is even unknown to many of the oldest settlers and traders in flax. The natives never made any secret of it; but when they could get the Europeans to buy the coarse natural flax, so much more

abundant, they of course never offered this fine flax for sale; attention, therefore, has only very lately been directed to it, and if the calculations may be depended upon, this flax will undoubtedly soon become the staple export of the colony, and a very extensive and valuable one it will prove. One person who has paid some attention to this subject has just formed a plantation, and he calculates that 2240 plants may be given to the acre of ground. These will yield annually (after the first season) ten pounds weight of leaves each, or ten tons of gross produce, from which may be expected nearly three tons of fine flax; take it, however, at only two tons, the very lowest estimate, and this quality in England will sell for from 50*l.* to 60*l.* per ton, making the return from one acre from 100*l.* to 120*l.* After the ground is properly prepared for the first reception of the plants, it becomes a perennial source of income, with the mere labour of keeping the ground clean. From this article alone the natives would not only derive large sums of money to gratify their increasing wants, but a very extensive export trade would be created.

Supposing 500 acres to be thus employed by the numerous tribes, the produce would be at least 1,000 tons of flax, and this would yield a return to the colony of not less than 60,000*l.* from this one branch of industry alone.

Besides prizes for flax, there should also be prizes given for—

3. The best wheat.

4. The largest portion of ground so cultivated.
5. Best barley.
6. The largest portion of ground so cultivated.
7. Best maize.
8. The greatest space so cultivated.
9. The largest space of ground cultivated in one or all of these ways by any tribe, in reference to the relative numbers of the tribes competing.

Considerable quantities of wheat have already been raised in various places by the natives, but no encouragement has hitherto been given to them, for, until within a few months, there has been no flour-mill erected, and the export trade to Sydney had been entirely destroyed. In Waikato alone, last year, the natives had between four and five hundred acres of wheat which could have been purchased at the rate of one shilling a bushel.

The art of cultivating the ground does not require to be taught; the natives already possess it in a high degree, and they merely require direction, with the stimulus of a proper reward, to induce them to extend their cultivation to an indefinite extent. They have an admirable knowledge of the seasons, and are equally good judges of the best soils for their various crops. If properly encouraged, they would soon have a large export of wheat and barley, and would consider themselves well remunerated to get from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.* a bushel for it. The labour in cultivating these is nothing compared with the great and unceasing care which they bestow on the kumara, and nothing can exceed the regularity, neat-

ness, and clearness from weeds, &c. of these plantations.

The natives raise considerable quantities of an excellent vegetable, the taro, and also of the kumara, or sweet potato; but these are chiefly consumed by themselves, and the labour and attention required in their cultivation—especially of the kumara—so great, that it may be doubted how far it would be proper to encourage their cultivation by prizes,—which should, of course, only be given for the productions best suited to the country and to the people; having especial reference to such as require diligent labour, and thereby more certainly forwarding their progressive advancement in civilization.

The natives are now becoming very anxious to procure all kinds of stock, sheep, cows, horses, &c. &c., and ought to be further encouraged by the offer of prizes, which ought to be given more for *numbers* than superiority of breeds, a quality of which, as yet, they know but little; and if they did it would be of much less use, considered as a means of improving the condition of the natives, than by generating a desire for the possession of *large numbers*.

Nor should *personal appearance* be overlooked as a means of civilizing the natives, as it would be productive of the best results to give prizes, if not for the *finest dresses*, at least to those tribes who have the greatest number of dresses in the fashion of the Europeans. Encouragement should also be held out to the tribes to make more permanent locations than they have been in the practice of doing; and

every encouragement should be given to the prevailing desire of erecting substantial wooden houses. If Government would also call attention to this, and apply the stimulus of prizes, there is little doubt that their efforts would be successful. One native, a most intelligent and promising youth, called Jabez Bunting, residing in the neighbourhood of Auckland, has already planned a township to be laid out on his lands at the portage of the Manukau and Waikato. It is to have regular streets like Auckland, and the houses are to be built with wood like those of the Europeans, and the tribe are to abandon their present residence and live in it. This young chief is a Wesleyan, and holds regular church-service in a large chapel of his own erection. It is built of native materials, but has glazed windows, a wooden floor, and American chairs for the accommodation of the aristocratic portion of his hearers.

To gratify their intense love of speechifying, superiority in this might also be rewarded with some substantial mark of approbation; the difficulty no doubt would be to discover how this could be carried into practice, or how superiority could be ascertained. As imagination, however, and the higher efforts of intellect cannot be expected to be generally manifested, the palm might be awarded to the fullest and best connected narrative of facts,—such as the history of a tribe,—a subject, moreover, in which the natives themselves might, with all safety, be made the judges; but if no prizes could be given for such exhibitions, the settlers could at least un-

dertake to become listeners to their harangues for a limited period, which, of itself, would afford the orators no small gratification.

At the periodical prize-meetings an excellent opportunity would be afforded to the chiefs for such displays; and it would add to the good effects of such prizes, and increase our friendly relations with the natives, as well as promote friendship amongst themselves, if a certain number of chiefs from each tribe were invited to a feast by the Governor on those occasions. The names of the successful competitors, as well as a general detail of all the proceedings, would, as a matter of course, be inserted in the *Gazette*, affording at once a perpetual record thereof to the natives.

Another useful direction which might be given to native as well as to European labour, would be the procuring of navy spars.

It is well known that a great many of the finest spars are cut down and sawn into boards, as no encouragement has ever been held out for procuring, or even preserving, these valuable trees. As New Zealand spars are now acknowledged to be far superior to those obtained from other places, it is conceived that her Majesty's Government might easily obtain an abundant supply from New Zealand, if the proper means were adopted.

To carry out such a plan, it would only be necessary for the Government to appoint a properly qualified person in New Zealand. This navy pur-

veyor should be empowered to issue contracts for any number of spars, say, from ten upwards, to be delivered at such places as might be agreed upon. And in order to encourage parties, who might not be possessed of capital sufficient to procure even the smallest number of spars to be contracted for without assistance, the Government agent ought to be permitted, upon completion of, say, four or five spars, to make certain advances, say, to the extent of one-half the stipulated price, when the spars are delivered. After a cargo had been collected at the various depôts, it would then be the duty of the agent to procure a vessel to convey them to England. By adopting some plan of this description an abundant supply of the finest spars could be obtained for our navy at a very much less sum than is now spent on an inferior article; and it would be the means of preserving from destruction the fine timber which is now indiscriminately cut down for every purpose. Besides, the money spent by Government, while it would establish a valuable export from New Zealand, and thereby enrich the colonists, almost the whole of the outlay would be returned to England for an increased supply of cotton, woollen, and other goods for the natives, whose wants, and means of gratifying them, would increase with every sixpence spent amongst them.

While such measures ought to be adopted to occupy and improve the adult population, as a matter of course schools should be established, *under the Government*, for the instruction of the rising gene-

ration. Every effort should be made to teach them English, in addition to other knowledge, and the school ought to combine manual with intellectual instruction. An opportunity should be afforded to them of learning various trades and handicrafts suitable to their interests and capabilities. There should also be attached to the school an experimental farm, where the best and most improved methods of agriculture and the rearing of stock should be taught.

The natives themselves are extremely anxious to have schools established amongst them. The native Bunting, already alluded to, applied to Bishop Selwyn long ago to get a school established for his tribe, offering to give land for the purpose, and volunteering to become one of the scholars, and felt great disappointment on finding that his lordship could not accede to his request. The same native, at a subsequent period, had an interview with his excellency Captain Fitzroy for a similar purpose; but, in addition to a school, he then also wanted an hospital.

Although it may be necessary, in the present state of the native mind, and with the very imperfect idea which many of them yet entertain of the good intentions of the Government towards them, to permit, or rather refrain from interfering with, the exercise of their own customs and laws amongst themselves, yet such a state of things is, at best, but the endurance of an evil, and every effort should be made to induce the tribes voluntarily to submit themselves

to our laws, but more particularly to try and punish offences of a grave character. Some particular mark of favour might, easily, be devised for distinguishing tribes who might thus voluntarily submit to our laws.

There is the more reason for doing this, as it is well known that some of the less scrupulous among the chiefs, though they might not commit certain crimes themselves, encourage their slaves to do so. They frequently incite them to steal that they may share in the spoil, well knowing that if detection should follow the slaves alone will suffer. It becomes, therefore, the more necessary to secure the co-operation of the chiefs by conferring honours or other more substantial marks of regard on them; and these ought to be of such a character as could again be taken from them, for a time at least, if they proved unworthy of trust. Such deprivation is the only species of punishment which could be applied in such circumstances; but which, among a people so desirous as they are to secure the approbation and good opinion of others, would be found very effectual.

To attain this purpose, perhaps an order of "native justices of the peace" might be established. The names of those appointed would be published in the native *Gazette*, which would greatly gratify their vanity. Then, should any one prove himself unworthy of the honour, and the trust thus reposed in him, his name would be erased from the native commission of the peace, and some other more worthy member of the tribe substituted.

Such justices should merely be required to obtain evidence, and assure themselves of the guilt of the offender; but, under no circumstances, should they be permitted finally to decide on the merits of the case; far less should the Government allow them to inflict punishment. It has been proposed—by Dr. Dieffenbach, I believe—to make a certain number of them jurymen to act by themselves, as well as to sit along with European jurors, where native questions are in dispute; but this would not only render trial by jury altogether a farce and a mockery of justice, but is founded on an erroneous view of the character of the natives. They would, no doubt, like such an honour to be conferred on them, but, if any one of them were to be put on his trial, he would ten times rather trust to the justice of a *European jury* than to one wholly or partially formed of his own countrymen.

But even if the natives could not thus be got, voluntarily, to submit, immediately, to our authority by such means, a very short period would elapse before they would willingly express their readiness to do so. Our considerate conduct would soon approve itself to their good feelings; and, confidence in our good intentions being once restored, there would be no difficulty in getting them to accede to any proposals, founded on principles of common sense and justice, which they can so readily be made to comprehend as well as to appreciate.

The present power of the natives is founded on our injustice and impolitic conduct towards them, combined with the interest which now binds the

individuals in a tribe together for common safety against the aggressions of other tribes. It is from this cause that they have hitherto been found so difficult to control. An offence to *one man* becomes at once an offence against the whole body, and *he* cannot be punished without exciting the hostility of the tribe. Then, if any attempt be made against *the tribe*, other tribes will join against the common enemy. Once introduced, however, the changes referred to, and the common interest which binds the individuals and the tribe, and the various tribes amongst themselves, will be immediately dissolved. They will no longer trust to their own powers for preserving order and peace, and therefore will not require such combinations of interest; but each individual will find himself merely a unit of the whole nation, and feel individually answerable for his own conduct. It is well known that some of the most intelligent of the chiefs fully comprehend the advantage to be derived from such a change. There can be no doubt that such views are in complete accordance with the native mind, though few might, at present, be found who could give their intelligent consent to them.

To attain this object, it must be obvious, however, that the natives should be made to feel that we have the ability to keep the peace of the country, so that no tribe or combination of tribes should be able to molest their neighbours; otherwise, we could never expect them to yield obedience to a power that

could not protect them; for which reason it seems almost indispensable to have a certain military force, but which would merely be required for a year or two at the commencement. Nor would a very great force, it is conceived, be necessary, as the natives themselves would be as eager to have their protection as the Europeans. If the natives had now the option of a few soldiers being stationed at various places for the purpose of keeping the peace, they would gladly receive them, as the tribes are at present ten times more afraid of each other than they are of the Europeans.

Advantage might thus be easily taken of the opportunity for placing a small detachment of soldiers in places where they would be most effective; and, with the view of showing the natives that the force was sent for their protection, they might be requested to make a small yearly contribution in produce for their support. The natives cannot comprehend how the white people should offer to give away anything for nothing, not being yet able to appreciate disinterested or philanthropic motives; and, if they can be induced to contribute for the purpose in view, they will the more readily believe it to be for their own peculiar advantage. One regiment of 1000 strong would be amply sufficient for all purposes; and,—in a national point of view, throwing humane feelings for the natives entirely aside,—the expenditure thus incurred by Great Britain would be more than counterbalanced by

the vast increase of trade which it would occasion, —the profit on which would more than cover the military expenditure.

While considering the question of expense relative to any plans for the amelioration of the natives, there is one very material circumstance which ought to be kept in view, but which, in all probability, would be lost sight of by her Majesty's Ministers—namely, the claim of reparation and redress, which the natives have, in consequence of the moral pest introduced amongst them by the juvenile delinquents from Parkhurst. Shall it be said that we spend our millions of treasure in purchasing the liberty of the slaves in one colony to raise them to the rank and dignity of human beings; while, in another of our colonies, we discharge upon its interesting and intelligent aborigines the dregs and refuse of our prisons, spreading amongst them a moral contagion and corruption? But this, in an evil hour, our Government have done, and we are now bound to repair the injury by every means in our power.

The evil thus done to the natives is very great, as every account from the colony will testify. If the Government had been desirous of introducing every species of vice amongst them, they could not have adopted a more effectual means. Instead of young boys, had they been old offenders of the very worst class, of the most desperate and ferocious habits, they would have been comparatively harmless, as the natives would have been so disgusted with their

very appearance and manner, that they never could have acquired any influence over them. But the youth of these boys—their acuteness and intelligence, united to a certain amount of restraint and semblance of moral principle—renders them so acceptable and insinuating, that they have acquired great influence over the natives, and, alternately, are now teaching them every species of vice, and then making them the victims of it. The infatuation that could have permitted these boys to be sent to New Zealand is quite incomprehensible, and the blindness of it is only equalled by its dishonesty towards the European settlers. Was not New Zealand from the first moment of its being proposed as a British colony expressly guaranteed an exemption from convicts? Have not the colonists chosen it in preference to Australia and Van Diemen's Land for this very reason? Lord Normanby, in a despatch to Captain Hobson, dated 14th August, 1839, says:—"The character of a penal settlement shall not be extended to New Zealand. Every motive concurs in forbidding this, and it is to be understood as a *fundamental principle of the new colony, that no convict is ever to be sent thither to undergo his punishment.*" The colonists have, therefore, been grossly deceived, and have the strongest grounds of complaint—to say nothing of the moral contamination which the natives have sustained. It may be said that these youths were free, and not therefore *convicts*; but they had still been *convicted*, and their freedom only rendered them so much the more dangerous. Had

they been still convicts, and kept in perpetual employment by Government, they might have done good service in making roads, &c.; but as they were, they were merely useful to some private individuals for a few months, until their old habits had time to unfold themselves.

In addition to the injury which both natives and Europeans thus sustain from the Government, the very boys themselves are made worse. While living in the penitentiary of Parkhurst, they were subjected to a regular system of discipline—all temptations to commit crime were carefully kept from them; they were taught trades, and were comfortable and happy. Now, however, being transported to a new country, they are released from all surveillance; and a few months are sufficient to obliterate all the good that the Parkhurst discipline ever did for them. It is all a farce to talk of the regulations and guardianship on the part of the local government, which it was intended to adopt in regard to them. Such never *has* been, nor, in the very nature of things, *could* be done. True it is that a guardian has been appointed; and though he is very desirous of fulfilling his duties, he will, no doubt, very readily confess that his exertions are all but abortive. Since the evil cannot now be remedied, it is earnestly to be hoped that at least no more convicts may be sent to New Zealand, under any circumstances whatever.

To return to the natives: By adopting the measures now recommended, not only would many causes of strife and discord amongst themselves, and be-

tween them and the Europeans, be taken away, but provision would positively be made for the rapid progress of the natives in civilization. One source of disagreement among them would, however, still remain ; — unfortunately one of great importance, and difficult of cure, and springing, moreover, from a quarter where, least of all, it could have been anticipated. I allude to *religious* differences, or rather quarrels; and, as usual, not about the essentials or spirit of Christianity, but concerning unimportant ceremonies, and peculiarities of church discipline and government. It was always feared that the teaching of the Roman Catholic belief and forms of worship would produce amongst the simple-minded natives the most disastrous effects, not however from the real differences in the spirit and form of the religious doctrines thus inculcated, but from the opposition and hostility exhibited by the one set of teachers against the doctrines of those professing a different form of worship.

These differences, however, were not so violent as had been expected until the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, to whom all eyes were directed, and who was hailed by all classes with an enthusiasm and delight, in anticipation of the blessings which his presence and exertions would confer upon the colony. But I grieve to say, these hopes have been disappointed. He has laboured with the greatest zeal, with untiring energy and devotedness of purpose, to spread among the natives the religion of Christ ; but, in his ardour for making converts, he has not rested satisfied with

promulgating the doctrines of Christianity, but has waged war on his fellow-labourers, by denouncing their teachings as unsound.

Until Bishop Selwyn arrived in New Zealand, the Church and Wesleyan missionaries conducted their labours of love with the best feelings towards each other—the native converts of the one communion being treated in all respects as if they were members of the other, and were wisely kept ignorant of the formalities of religion which distinguished one set of missionaries from the other. No sooner does the bishop arrive, however, than a line of distinction is immediately drawn between the Wesleyan and the Church mission natives;—the former not being allowed, as formerly, to partake of the sacrament along with the followers of the latter. The Wesleyan missionaries themselves are decried as not being of Divine authority, and their teachings therefore decried as unwarranted and useless. The rite of baptism performed by them must be repeated by the bishop or his clergy, in order to be effectual. The natural result of such extraordinary conduct soon manifested itself, and the natives of these different forms of Christian belief are now at open war with each other; nor need it excite surprise if we soon hear that they have forsaken their own savage feuds and animosities, for the no less deadly hatred and enmity engendered by the teachings of different professors of the same meek and merciful religion. But so it is; and unless some effectual remedy be devised for the growing evil, all the good that the

missionaries have ever done may soon be as nothing compared with the evil which threatens to accompany it. Native wrongs and enmities may easily be put an end to,—because these are susceptible of explanation and reparation; but, if religious feuds are once introduced, who can say where they may end, as their causes neither can be satisfactorily explained, nor can any compromise be made. The greater the sincerity of belief, the deeper the animosity towards those who differ from it. It is lamentable to think that the religion of Jesus should be perverted to such unholy purposes!

As this subject is of the deepest importance to the peace and welfare of the country, as well as to the spread of Christianity among the natives, every information on the point should be communicated to the British public. With that view I have given, in the Appendix,* three letters originally published at Auckland in the *Southern Cross* newspaper, addressed by Mr. Turton, Wesleyan missionary at Taranaki, to Bishop Selwyn, containing minute and ample details; and showing the existence of feelings amongst the natives of an alarming character.

The Government should interfere ere it be too late; but, failing their doing so, the people of England should be appealed to, that their pious contributions may not be diverted from their original purpose, and used as the means of sowing the seeds of religious feuds among the New Zealanders to their own destruction, besides endangering the general peace of the community.

* See Appendix, No. I.

Were these dissensions caused by the intolerance and bigotry of obscure and uninfluential individuals, there might be some hope of the progressive enlightenment of the natives being able at least to mitigate and allay the animosities thereby engendered, ere they involved serious consequences; but when these proceed from an individual of such zeal and ability, clothed with the dignity of a bishop, supported, moreover, by the influence and authority of the Government, then, indeed, the actions of such an individual become all-powerful for good or for evil. Had such vast pretensions and power been employed for perpetuating the feelings of brotherly love and Christian charity, which his lordship, on his arrival in New Zealand, found existing amongst the natives as well as amongst the missionaries themselves, he would have proved a great blessing to the country, and this he might have easily done, and have found, at the same time, work more than sufficient to demand the whole of his unequalled zeal and untiring energy. Surely he has not been sent to New Zealand for the purpose of laying every other form of worship prostrate at the feet of Episcopacy. But if it is so, let the civil power at least shake off all connection with him. Intolerance and fanaticism may be pardoned in individuals, while they are in the highest degree culpable in a government, and destructive to its subjects.

Suppose the personal liberty of the subject endangered, and suppose that violence and crime are the consequence of the religious quarrels now adverted

to, how can the Government interpose to punish such excesses when they themselves are the authors of them, through the instrumentality of one of their own officers? If the Government can do nothing to prevent the dissemination of opinions so destructive to the temporal and spiritual interests of the community, they at least should not be participators in the guilt; and no favour or countenance ought to be shown to an Episcopalian, which is not given to any and to every other follower of Christ. It is surely enough to see our own country torn asunder, in the fierce contentions for *worldly* as well as *spiritual* pretensions to superiority by the various professors of Christianity; but it is madness, indeed, to introduce the same into a new country. Such, however, is rapidly being done, and it behoves every one interested either in the prosperity of New Zealand, or in the extension of the religion of Christ amongst its inhabitants, to use every effort, however humble, in procuring the absolute equality of all religionists, to the exclusion of superiority in any one sect whatever. This at least may be done, and affords perhaps the only means of counteracting the pernicious influences of the present exclusive and dominant party.

In making these remarks applicable on the proceedings of the Bishop of New Zealand,—however warm the tone of reproach may be, it will not, it is hoped, be imagined that any personal disrespect is intended to his lordship. On the contrary, his virtues are many, and command universal respect and esteem, and his influence accordingly is very

great; but his zeal, if wrong directed, is so much the more dangerous and destructive;—on which account alone I have ventured to bring the present subject before the public, so that the proper remedy may be applied ere it be too late.

Having stated, in a former part of these observations, that the Government have as yet done nothing with the view of improving the natives, it is proper to notice a measure passed by the Legislative Council on 9th June, 1844, intituled “Native Trust Ordinance.” The object of this is to vest in trustees “all property, real or personal, which shall from time to time be granted, conveyed, devised, bequeathed, or given” to them. The income from such property is to be expended “in the establishment and maintenance of schools for the instruction of the native people in the English language, and for a systematic course of industrial and moral training in English usages and English arts, and in providing for the relief of the sick, and generally in such a way as may be most conducive to the bodily and spiritual welfare of the native race, and to their advancement in the scale of social and political existence; such schools, provision for the relief of the sick, religious instruction, or other advantages, *not being exclusively confined to persons of one particular religion.*” The trustees for carrying out these purposes are,—the Governor, the Bishop, the Attorney-General, the Commissioner of Land Claims, and the Chief Protector of Aborigines.

Nothing can exceed the wisdom and benevolence

of these intentions, and, if really carried out in the impartial spirit exhibited in the words just quoted, the highest anticipations of good to the natives and to the country generally may be realized. Notwithstanding this professed impartiality, however, there is the greatest reason to doubt its being actually practised, seeing that the present trustees all belong to the Church of England, and any after trustees *may* also be of the same church, so that *impartiality* is scarcely, in the nature of things, to be expected.

This was seen at the time when the measure was passing through the Council, and the strongest efforts were made by the three non-official members to convert this profession of impartiality into a certainty of it. Amendments for this purpose were accordingly proposed, so as either to confine the trust exclusively to secular instruction; or to provide for an equal amount of assistance from it to all classes of religionists. The Government, however, strenuously resisted these attempts, and by doing so justly brought suspicion upon their professions of impartiality; because they refused to adopt the only certain way of evincing their sincerity, and the ordinance, which otherwise excited universal praise, was passed under the protest of the three non-official members, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix hereto.*

It is much to be lamented that a measure of such great usefulness should not claim the cordial sup-

* See Appendix, No. II.

port of every one; the more particularly as this could be attained by merely putting *in words*, and thereby making *a certainty* of that *impartiality which is professed*, but which, under the present ordinance, is left entirely to the *discretion* and *liberality* of the trustees for the time being, and that, too, on a subject—religion—above all others, where prejudice and partiality are likely to sway the judgment.

Two other measures of importance to the natives were passed by the same Council. The one for the purpose of exempting, in some cases, the natives from the usual punishments and penalties of the English law, and for introducing measures to prepare them by degrees for submitting to it. The chief features of the measure are:—

1st. To permit the natives to exercise their own customs and laws amongst themselves, unless they voluntarily seek our interference.

2nd. To substitute other punishments more in accordance with the native disposition than our laws admit of for crimes and offences committed against Europeans,—among others, abolishing imprisonment, which was extremely offensive to them, and substituting a guarantee or surety from other natives for the future good conduct or appearance of the culprit, as the case might be.

Under the new law any offences against Europeans, other than the crimes of rape or murder, may be atoned for by making certain payments in money or goods, a mode of punishment not so efficacious perhaps, though more in accordance with

native customs than the punishments prescribed by our laws.

These changes in our law will doubtless be productive of much good. In order, however, to prevent them from entertaining the idea that our Government can be satisfied like a native with *payment* for such offences, the present ordinance should have directed the fines to be transferred to the fund for the improvement of the aborigines, instead of being paid to the colonial treasurer for the public uses of the colony. As a source of revenue this fund cannot be worth mentioning, and the alteration in the proposed application of it would impress the natives with a higher idea of our code of morals; while, at the same time, it would evince a still kinder spirit towards themselves.

As already stated, the principle of permitting the natives to exercise amongst themselves their own laws and customs, while for a time it may be necessary (seeing that we have not, perhaps, the power of ordering it otherwise), is yet most objectionable; as it leads them to suppose that we have no better reason for our laws than a species of custom, and they, therefore, are naturally led to think that their own customs may be as good as ours. In offences of a light nature it may not be of much consequence; but in grave crimes, such as murder and infanticide, it must necessarily have the most pernicious effects. Even the compounding of thefts, by making certain payments, as permitted by the ordinance referred to, is decidedly objectionable in point of principle,

and can only be defended on the ground that we have not the power of carrying out our own laws under present circumstances. For these reasons, therefore, every effort should be made to get the natives voluntarily to submit to our laws, by conferring honours and privileges on all who do.

Punishment by the natives themselves is so uncertain, and so easily evaded or compounded for, that it amounts to nothing, and is useless in checking the progress of crime. Besides; any such punishment, if executed, has the less effect, seeing that it is generally left to be executed by the injured party, and is nothing better than the gratification of revenge. In such cases the chief of the tribe may use his influence to reconcile the parties; but he will rarely farther interfere, as such an interference would only tend to weaken his own authority. For the offence he cares nothing, unless it affects himself.

The other measure affecting the natives, is called the "Unsworn Testimony Ordinance," which permits a native of New Zealand, or of "other countries adjacent thereto, who, by reason of defect of religious knowledge and belief, would be by law incompetent to give evidence in any court;"—to "give evidence in any proceeding, civil or criminal, before any justice of the peace, or before a jury, upon making an affirmation that he will speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and *the evidence so given shall have the weight to which such justice of the peace or such jury may deem it to be entitled.*" This ordinance will, doubtless, be also

highly useful; and it is only to be regretted that the principle of it was not made of universal application, instead of being limited to New Zealanders, and the natives of the adjoining countries;—thereby, in effect, giving such barbarians an advantage over every civilized man who may not feel the responsibility of, or choose to take, the usual oaths. It may be right and reasonable that those who take oaths in the usual manner should retain the privilege of having their statements more readily believed; but there can be no reason to exclude from giving evidence the greatest villain in existence, if his testimony is duly confronted, and if such evidence, in the words of this ordinance, is only permitted to “*have the weight to which such justice of the peace, or such jury may deem it to be entitled.*”

It is easy to understand how such absurdities in the principles of evidence should have grown up in an old country; but when laws are being framed for a new country, one has a right to expect the benefit of all the changes which the growing intelligence of the age has pointed out, whether such shall have previously been introduced into English practice or not.

PART II.

CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE COLONY CONSIDERED AS A FIELD FOR EMIGRATION.

CHAPTER I.

Change of Policy in the Government, and the Hopes now held out to Settlers—Follies of the former Government alluded to—Inducements now held out to Labourers and Capitalists—Cheap Land—Native Sellers and Land Claimants—Prices—Sources of Prosperity—Agriculture—Practical Illustrations—Rearing of Stock—Bees—Small Farmers—Speculators—Capitalists—Mining Speculations—Copper—Manganese—Tin—Lead—Nickel—Coal—Rock Salt—Sulphur—Kauri—Tanekaha—Ake—Towai—Dye-woods—Tanning Barks—Sarsaparilla—Kauri Gum—Whale Fishing—Facilities for obtaining Education.

To this account of the natives of New Zealand, their present condition, with the prospects to be entertained of their future civilization and improvement, it may be useful to subjoin a short sketch of the country, for the information of those who may be desirous of emigrating to it, or who may

feel an interest in its prosperity; pointing out the prospects which it holds forth to the emigrant, and the grounds on which these hopes are based.

Happily, a bright change has very recently marked the management of the affairs of this, hitherto, ill-fated colony,—not merely in good wishes and intentions, but in the positive adoption of measures so highly beneficial that there can no longer be any rational ground of distrust, either of the Government or of the future prosperity of the colony. Such changes having already taken place, it is no longer necessary to bring, prominently, forward the previous acts of past misgovernment which have rendered these necessary to preserve the colony itself from destruction. Some of those unfortunate measures have already been incidentally mentioned, as well as the changes rendered necessary to preserve peace with the natives; and little further is wanted to complete the sketch, so far as the interests of the Europeans are concerned.

It has been already shown how the natives came to be so much disaffected, exasperated, and even hostile towards Government,—a consequence of the destruction of their trading intercourse with the Europeans, and the prohibition to sell their lands, and other questions thence arising. Such, also, have been the main causes of misfortune to the Europeans, who only now, at the end of four years from the foundation of British authority, have been able to induce the Government to withhold their interference, and to restore matters, as far as may

be, to the position in which they were originally found. The first step in the advancement of the colony has therefore only now been made, and from this its progress will be traced.

It is not now necessary to speak of the insane policy of the Hobson-Shortland administration, which attempted to found a new colony by repressing and destroying every species of commerce and industry,—which looked upon emigrants as so many victims for plunder,—which attempted to make the people measure their prosperity by the amount of the money that could be extorted from them,—and which would persuade them that public improvements—roads, bridges, &c.—were as nothing compared to the benefits of a reckless expenditure upon useless Government officers: an administration, in fact, which decried land speculators, in order that it might monopolize their trade; and, to crown their iniquity and folly, resorted to the unheard-of expedient of borrowing 15,000*l.* from a private individual in Sydney, at fifteen per cent. interest, besides agreeing to give him security over the revenues of the colony: nor can it be forgotten, that the negotiation of a portion of this loan through the Auckland Bank was accompanied by such a transaction as would, under ordinary circumstances, have rendered its authors obnoxious to legal prosecution. However extravagant these assertions may seem, they are all but too true; ample proofs of which have, doubtless, ere this time found their way to the Colonial-office.

In such a melancholy state of things there could,

of course, be no inducement either to the labourer or to the capitalist; and though very many of both of these classes found their way to the colony, they as quickly left it, their means or their hopes not being sufficient to sustain them. The field of enterprise has now, however, been opened, and the resources of the colony made available to all who wish to take advantage of them. It becomes therefore necessary to afford some information as to the extent of these resources, and the various inducements to emigrants which this colony now presents.

The first desideratum of the emigrant, rich or poor, has at last been arrived at,—namely, the utmost facility in obtaining land, both good and cheap, and to any extent that may be wished.

Not only have the vexatious questions as to titles to land of the original settlers been set at rest, but the natives, as already stated, have been permitted, as formerly, to dispose of their land as they may think proper; so that every difficulty in the acquisition of the land has been completely removed.

The land claimants, as they are called, possess large tracts of good land, suitable for every purpose; and these parties having, perhaps without one exception, been ruined by the former measures of Government, are now but too glad to sell their lands for almost any sum that may be offered, varying from three shillings to one pound, or upwards, per acre, according to situation and quality, the seller's necessities, or other circumstances.

The natives, again, are selling land at all prices,

from a few pence up to a pound ; at the latter price considerable tracts adjoining the township of Auckland having already been sold. While the natives will sell considerably cheaper, and have of course larger tracts to dispose of, it is proper to mention that, according to the Government regulations,* no title can be procured to such lands for twelve months from the date of purchase ;—and, even then, a scrutiny must take place to ascertain whether the purchase has been properly made or not ; so that considerable delay must occur before a title can be obtained, independently of the anxiety and time spent in first making the selection and bargain.

The land claimants, on the other hand, while they ask higher prices for their land in the first instance, can immediately give a good title, and this to many, will be found the cheaper purchase in the long run, all circumstances being considered. Small capitalists, therefore, who cannot afford either to lose time, or to lie long out of their money before obtaining a return, will perhaps best consult their own interest by making purchases from the land claimants ; while to the man of capital the native sellers will be most attractive, as they not only have larger tracts to dispose of, but as minerals of various kinds have already been discovered in so many places, there is a probability of his being amply recompensed for lying longer out of his money. From the natives, however, or from the Europeans, there can at all times be procured, with the utmost

* See Appendix, No. III.

facility, tracts of land suitable for every purpose,—undoubtedly the most attractive feature in any new colony, to the capitalist as well as to those of limited means.

Nor when the land has thus been obtained is there any difficulty in making it available. The agriculturist will find it realize his most sanguine wishes. The profitable cultivation of the native flax has already been mentioned, but the land will be found eminently adapted for any species of cultivation known in the mother country, New Zealand far surpassing it in mildness of climate and in luxuriance of vegetation, if not also in the superiority of the land itself. The agriculturist, for a time at least, must be satisfied with raising the necessaries of life, and thereby securing his own independence, as it must be acknowledged that he has no prospect of accumulating money until foreign markets for his produce shall have been discovered, or the wants of the colonists increase to a great extent. This result arises from the competition of the natives, who, although vastly inferior to Europeans in knowledge, can yet command such superior number of labourers, that they will effectually keep down the price *in the colony* of every species of agricultural produce, which, although at first sight a disadvantage, is really the surest hope of its future extension and prosperity.

To give the practical agriculturist an idea of what, under favourable circumstances, may be done, I give the result of *two actual experiments* which have been made, and communicated to me by the parties them-

selves, and the authenticity of which may be confidently relied on.

In the cases referred to, neither of the gentlemen was a practical agriculturist; the one being a banker, and the other an officer of engineers; so that practical farmers might fairly be expected to have done the work more efficiently, besides saving the expense of their own labour. The land is within three miles of Auckland, and was purchased in the month of April, 1844, immediately after the liberty was given to the natives to sell their land, the purchaser paying the Government a fee of 10*s.* for each acre, in addition to the sum paid to the native owners of it.

Auckland, 12th December, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,—You having requested me to furnish you with an account of my expenditure, and other information which I might be able to give you from personal experience of farming in New Zealand, I have enclosed herewith a detailed account of my outlay in purchase of land, seed, &c. I have set my whole expenditure for labour in one item, but I think it well to mention the prices paid for the several kinds of work.

For a ditch and bank, with a hurdle fence at top, I paid 1*s.* 6*d.* per perch. The ditch is four feet wide at the top, nine inches at the bottom, and three and a half feet deep. Thus a farm twenty-eight chains long, and twenty chains wide, which would contain fifty-six acres, would cost, to fence in this way, 28*l.* 16*s.*, something less than 10*s.* 4*d.* per acre. I have about this quantity enclosed.

I erected three Warries (native built houses) for my workmen on my land, for which I paid the natives 30*s.*

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each. They are eighteen feet long, by twelve feet wide, and partitioned off to form two rooms. I had further to pay for two small sashes, and ledge door, with hinges, &c., and cost 25s. for each warrie.

I endeavour to pay my workmen by the job, but when employed on day work I pay them 2s. 6d. per day. Each of them has a piece of land for a garden, and, living near a wood (being part of my farm), their firewood costs them nothing. I frequently employ the natives, who work readily for 1s. per day. I shall this season employ them to stump and clear about thirty acres of land.

I have this year sown about twenty-five acres of wheat upon land that had been previously cropped with potatoes by the natives. This land was not cleared, the wood having been cut and burned down, and the potatoes sown between the stumps, in the usual way that they cultivate their land.

I sowed my wheat on this land after merely clearing the potato haulms, and chipped in the seed with hoes. This work was performed with native and European labourers, and cost 10s. per acre, and I paid 1l. additional to the man that sowed the wheat. The crop is very fine; I think it will average forty bushels per acre; but, not having time to attend to the harvesting, &c., I sold it to a baker in Auckland for 120l., and he takes all risk of the crop, bears all expenses in reaping, &c., and leaves the straw for my use. The price obtained for the wheat, I am told, is very low; but, for the above reason, I thought the first loss the best. I have also sown about one acre of oats, a small patch of Irish flax, and a little barley, which are all doing well.

Before closing this letter, I think it proper to remark, that I could not have got my crops in so cheap if the land

had not been previously cultivated by the natives ; but many others have done the same as myself in purchasing and cropping ; and all over the country lands that have been under similar cultivation are open for sale.

I am well convinced that a careful person, with 300*l.*, could purchase land and live well on a farm in New Zealand, though a capital of 1,000*l.* or more would be much better. My whole outlay, from the date of my purchasing my farm, which contains eighty acres, viz., 2nd April, 1844 to this date (12th Dec. 1844), has been 153*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* My crops the first year will exceed the outlay, thus leaving my farm, which is much improved, and two-thirds fenced in, clear profit.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE GRAHAM.

William Brown, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

Account of Expenditure referred to.

Expended on the purchase of land from natives	£80	0	0
Government fees on do.	14	11	8
Surveying, &c.	8	0	0
Seed wheat 31½ bushels	13	12	0
Labour, &c., in fencing, draining, sowing wheat, and erecting three workmen's warries	37	15	2
Total outlay	£153	18	10
Sold the wheat for	£120	0	0
Say for straw, &c.	25	0	0
Oats, &c.	7	10	0
	£152	10	7

Auckland, 19th December, 1844.

DEAR SIR,—Knowing as I do the interest you take in all matters connected with the produce of the country, I beg to give you the result of an experiment I made to grow wheat upon the lands I bought from the natives in April last.

You may rely with confidence upon this statement as correct, because I had everything to pay for, and all monies that I paid, I charged to the wheat.

I selected thirty acres as a suitable extent to try the experiment upon, which cost	£30	0	0
Pre-emption fee to Government.	6	0	0
Pre-emption fee still to pay	9	0	0
Paid fencing in thirty acres	19	9	0
Paid for seed wheat	19	12	5
Paid for preparing the ground, and putting in the seed	20	4	7
Paid for building a house for overseer	3	8	9
His pay until wheat is reaped	12	0	0

Total cost	£119	14	9
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Sold the produce as it now stands on the ground at 5 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per acre	153	15	0
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Which shows a clear profit of £34 0 3 after paying all expenses, and leaving the ground fenced in, and a house upon it. I may add, that a practical man could have done it much cheaper, and, of course, would have a greater profit.

Wishing you a pleasant passage to England, and soon back again,

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

D. DILWORTH.

William Brown, Esq., &c. &c.

These experiments, highly satisfactory as they are, and therefore not to be expected in every case to be realized, have been made under no peculiarly favourable circumstances, beyond the mere fact of the ground having been, the previous year, partially cleared by the natives, and cropped with potatoes; but which, after all, cannot be accounted for much, as the crop, if sold, would have more than covered the labour of production.

But the practical farmer is likely to find it much more profitable, for a few years at least, to keep stock, cattle, sheep, horses, &c., as such stock will not merely thrive, but fatten well, on the natural vegetation—a fact that experience has only lately taught the colonists, although well known to the missionaries for many years. Such stock will increase rapidly, and soon afford a good return for the capital invested; besides, a ready sale may be made, not merely to the colonists generally, but to the natives, who are becoming extremely desirous of possessing stock. Even fine horses can readily be sold to them. They are fearless riders, and eagerly desire to possess horses.

There can be no doubt that a most extensive and lucrative employment will thus be found in raising stock adapted for the natives; nor should it be overlooked that they are totally different from the aboriginal inhabitants of any of our other colonies, not merely in general mental superiority, but in their possessing articles to give in return for such as may suit their inclinations, besides abundance of sur-

plus land. They also raise large quantities of agricultural produce, which they can increase at pleasure, so that they will always have the means of gratifying their rapidly increasing wants. Those who have no produce for the farmer, in return for his stock, will give their labour at a very moderate rate, which will be found of equal value to him. Native labour can at present be obtained at the rate of one shilling per day.

To the sheep-farmer it may be gratifying to know that New Zealand promises to yield wool of a superior quality even to that of New South Wales. Samples lately taken to the latter colony were pronounced by an experienced wool broker, superior to any wool he had there met with. A few bales lately sent to England direct, realized 1s. 6½d. per lb., and that under the disadvantage of being dirty, and ill prepared for the market.

It is unnecessary to particularize the various purposes to which the soil of New Zealand can be advantageously applied, as these have already been noticed in every publication relative to the country; and the above remarks have merely been introduced to correct an erroneous opinion hitherto entertained, that no natural feed for stock was to be found—an opinion originating, doubtless, in the fact of there being no grass to be seen, but in its place is luxuriant fern, or a species of shrub. Experience has now amply proved, however, that cattle fatten well on one or other of these, and that the grass immediately springs up where the fern is merely kept down, without even being rooted out.

In addition to the main sources of revenue of the New Zealand settler,—though at first sight of trifling import,—it is proper to mention, as I am not aware of the circumstance having previously been brought before the public, that New Zealand, in an extraordinary degree, seems adapted for bees, and large exports of honey and wax may yet be expected from it. To give some idea of the rapidity of increase, I may mention that a friend of mine, in January 1844, received *one* hive from Sydney, which by the 20th of December following had increased to twelve swarms, all very vigorous, and being rapidly filled with honey, and additional swarms were expected before the end of the season. In another instance, one hive in ten months produced six swarms; and within the same period one of these also swarmed, thus converting the original hive into seven, within ten months. Two of these yielded twenty-six pounds of honey. In another case, a hive of seven months old swarmed, and a fortnight afterwards swarmed a second time. These instances are, of course, extreme cases, but it may fairly be expected that each hive will swarm at least seven times in the course of the year. The wild flowers afford excellent nourishment for the bees, and from the blossom of the flax plant, and the pohutukawa tree in particular, honey may, absolutely, be collected in pints, without the assistance of bees at all.

To the small farmer it may be confidently asserted that there is, perhaps, no country that holds out superior or even equal inducements, because in no place are the necessities of life cheaper, nor can a

man's labour produce anywhere a more certain return than in New Zealand. Other colonies may flatter his expectations of wealth in a greater degree, from the more frequent casualties of plenty or scarcity, and the consequently greater fluctuation of prices; but these ought to be looked upon as positive evils, and the prudent settler will believe that he will be more a loser than a gainer thereby, and will justly prefer that country where he may always calculate on a small, but certain profit.

To the speculator and man of large capital, New Zealand presents at this moment the most tempting prospects, — almost too much so for his prudence to withstand.

Already two copper mines in the neighbourhood of Auckland have been opened, and the results are in the highest degree satisfactory, ore being obtained of the best quality, and at so trifling an expense, that there are no accounts of mines in any other part of the world in this respect to be compared with them. In fact the operation cannot be termed mining at all,—it is only quarrying and blasting, the ore being almost at the very surface. Some idea of the facility of procuring the ore may be formed from the fact, that miners are at present working one of the mines referred to, and have undertaken to produce the ore, properly cleaned and sorted, fit for shipment, at the rates of 4*l.* per ton for the third quality, 6*l.* for the second, and 8*l.* for the finest; and at these rates there is every appearance of their realizing a small fortune for themselves in the course of two years, for which period it is understood their contract extends. They

would realize enormous *wages* at the lowest rate of 4*l.* for all qualities, if the ore continues to be procured as easily as hitherto. About ten or twelve men in the course of six weeks actually quarried out sixty tons, thirty of which were shipped to Sydney, and thirty tons to England. Nor is the ore of an ordinary quality; the analysis of some samples from the mine referred to shows upwards of 50 per cent. of pure copper.

Manganese is equally abundant, and is found within fifteen miles of Auckland. Considerable quantities have already been shipped to England, some of which has realized 7*l.* per ton. The expense of quarrying this has been 10*s.* per ton.

Many places on the coast, both northward to the Bay of Islands, and southward towards the East Cape, afford indications both of copper and manganese; and it may easily be supposed that the utmost eagerness is manifested to become the fortunate purchaser of these mines. While the obstructions to the free purchase of lands continued, no one even thought of taking the trouble to look for these treasures; but now that the natives are permitted to dispose of their lands, there scarcely passes a week without a party setting off in some direction, on a voyage of discovery.

The very natives have become infected with the mania, and are nearly as expert judges of copper or manganese as the settlers, and may be seen going about with fragments of stone and bottles of nitric acid, for the purpose of testing its composition.

They serve to keep the settlers in a perpetual excitement by pretending to have discovered copper or manganese upon their lands, and no little money is spent in fruitless expeditions to prove the fact. In some cases, the eagerness of the settlers outruns their prudence, and they are induced, by the solicitations of the natives, to purchase the land before seeing it, fearing some more reckless speculator may otherwise secure the prize; but it is needless to say that they are almost sure of losing their money, as the specimen of the ore shown to them has in all probability been taken from the mines at the Great Barrier, or from the island of Kawau. The natives seem to discover, with singular acuteness, the weak points in the character of the person they are dealing with, and never fail to work upon them with great dexterity. Where knowledge is equal on both sides, the settlers are no match for the natives in buying and selling, as the latter concentrate, in the smallest affair, their whole soul, and never lose sight of their own interest for a moment.

Besides copper and manganese, tin, lead, and nickel are reported to have been discovered. Coal abounds in various places on the Middle Island: it has also been seen near Manakao, and indications of it are to be met with towards the Bay of Islands, but no mine has yet been opened on the North Island. A shaft was sunk at Mauharangi, (near the Kawau copper mine,) but, having been undertaken by a person without means, the work was abandoned, after sinking about eighty feet. Rock salt has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Mercury Bay;

and alum and nitre near the medicinal springs at the Roturua lakes. Sulphur is found, in vast quantities, about the East Cape, and has already been shipped to England, though it did not, it is believed, realize a good price; but sulphur, of a very superior description, has lately been discovered, in purity nearly equal to the rolled sulphur of commerce. Specimens of this article have been sent to England in the *Bolina*. Various other minerals have been found, but are less worthy of notice, as they do not appear to be available at present as exports.

Besides the valuable Kauri spars which can in the present state of the colony be easily procured at a tithe of their worth, there are many other woods which are expected to become valuable as an export—particularly the Tanekaha—(*Phyllocladus trichomanoides*), which, though heavier and not of such large dimensions as the Kauri, is deemed by many good judges superior to that wood for ship's spars, in consequence of its greater elasticity and toughness. The Tanekaha is admirably adapted for deck plank, as experience has amply proved. It is equally suitable as staves for casks.

There are various woods adapted for blocks and shieves, and would form a good substitute for the expensive lignum vitæ. There are also many furniture and fancy woods, of which, though the value is not yet positively known, great expectations are entertained. Two of these in particular—the ake (*Dodonæa spathulata*) and towai (*leiospermum racemosum*), are almost equal in point of colour to rosewood, and may be expected to become, to some extent

at least, a rival to it; and there is another, a very beautiful yellow wood, of bright colours, with light and dark shades, that appears well adapted for inlaid work. One of the woods (all parts of the tree, wood, bark and branches) yields a superior black dye, and expected to compete with nut galls. The galls are more powerful, but the New Zealand wood produces an equal, if not superior, colour, and, requiring considerably less acid, a dye can be obtained much less injurious to the cloth. There is another wood which yields a red dye, and the bark of various trees contains a large proportion of tannin, and experiments have already shown that excellent leather can be manufactured with them. The bark of the towai in particular is more powerful than the acacia of New South Wales, and would yield a profitable return on shipment to England.

These barks will be valuable, however, if they merely pay a *freight without yielding any profit whatever*; as, along with the heavy copper or spars, they will serve to fill up the vessel and save a great deal of freight, which otherwise would have been lost, as light cargo may, for another year or two, be rather deficient.

Sarsaparilla has also been discovered, but no report of its quality has yet been obtained from competent authority. Large quantities of gum, the produce of the Kauri tree, have already been exported to America, where it is manufactured into copal varnish, and promises to become an export of great value. The marketable value of it has not, however, become properly known in the colony, and the shipments hitherto made have been collected at

intervals, and more for the purpose of experiment than from any certain knowledge of its value, or even of how it was to be disposed of. This ignorance, however, cannot last many months longer, as the fact of the Americans having given as much as 16*l.*, and in one instance even, 47*l.* per ton for it, affords a sufficient reason to prosecute the trade with every hope of abundant reward.

The importance of the whale fisheries of New Zealand are too well known to require further notice, but the trade has hitherto been carried on by large ships fitted out from foreign ports at great expense ; whereas the colonists of New Zealand may carry it on by means of shore parties, with comparatively little outlay of capital, and with every prospect of success. This has been attempted already by various parties, but the establishments have neither been well conducted, nor have their owners been possessed of sufficient means to ensure their complete success. Enough, however, has been done to show that such a trade, properly managed, can be prosperously carried on.

Whales are frequently seen near the Great Barrier Island and likewise at several places to the northward of the Bay of Islands. When the *Narwhal*, whaler, Captain Baker, was lost at the Bay of Islands in April, 1844, he reported that, during the previous two months, and without being further than two hundred miles from the coast, he had filled up six hundred barrels of oil. The whales, he stated, were so plentiful, that he could have filled up another vessel in a very short space.

Many minor sources of profit might still be noticed, but it is believed that from those already enumerated, the capitalist must be satisfied that there is ample room in New Zealand for the profitable investment of his money; and he will find the present state of the colony to offer peculiar attractions, in so far as every thing is still in the very first stage of being rendered available; thus affording, besides the usual profits, an expectation of extravagant gains, until the marketable values of the various articles of commerce come to be established. It is true some may think this uncertainty rather a disadvantage, but it may be answered that enough is already known to protect a prudent person from loss, while the speculator may yet indulge his most sanguine hopes, affording much pleasure to him, while his exertions will be productive of much general good to the colony.

After the enumeration of the various sources from which money may be expected to be accumulated in New Zealand, it should be stated that the colony claims a proud distinction in the superior provision which has been made for the more solid advantages of good education, the want of which has always presented such well-founded objections to the best class of emigrants—those with families,—and who appreciate, too highly, the blessing of a good education, to permit them to emigrate to colonies so greatly deficient in this most essential particular.

The bishop of New Zealand has conferred, therefore, a lasting obligation on the country by his efforts in founding at Auckland “St. John’s College,”

where, besides the usual collegiate education, it is intended to teach the elementary branches of learning, all under the superintendence of clergymen who have themselves been educated at the English universities.

This institution, besides being of incalculable benefit to the rising generation now in the colony, cannot fail of proving a great inducement to many respectable families to emigrate thither, who would, otherwise, never have thought of coming to New Zealand.

In the educational department there is still one great desideratum wanting—namely, a good *infant school*. Children in the colony are very numerous, while their parents have even less opportunity of attending to them than at home; and if a properly qualified person were to undertake such an establishment, he would be well supported by the colonists.

Education, however, will still be very incomplete until it is taken under the charge of the Government, as no one competent to undertake such important duties would go to a new colony upon the *mere chance* of obtaining proper remuneration; and, as the colonists are not sufficiently united amongst themselves, or do not feel such a permanent interest in the place, they will never agree to send to Britain for a competent teacher. For which reason, the Government should interpose by affording the necessary encouragement, and they will find no difficulty in introducing a national system of education in New Zealand, however numerous the obstacles may be to it here.

CHAPTER II.

Effects of the Free Sales of Land by Natives, and Free Trade in general Commerce considered—Land Regulations—Wakefield Theory of Colonization inapplicable to New Zealand—Labour and Capital—How regulated—South Australia—Cause of its Failure in the Outset—Concentration—Its Effects—Land Claimants—Labour, how to be supplied—Objection to the Undue Facility of obtaining Land stated—its Effects upon the Natives—Upon the European and General Interests of the Colony—Persons of Small Means acquiring Large Tracts of Land—Difficulties of doing so—Regulations for Purchasing—Commissioner of Land Claims, Useless if not Injurious—Illustrations—What constitutes good Evidence of a Purchase—Impolicy of throwing obstacles in the way of the Natives freely disposing of their Land—Proclamation of the Governor permitting the Natives to sell their Land—Memorial by Legislative Council to Secretary of State.

As the great changes which have lately taken place, especially in relation to the free disposal of the lands by the natives, and the establishment of free trade in New Zealand, have been called for as an act of justice, as well as by the necessity of appeasing the natives, a few observations may not be deemed out of place as to the general policy of these measures and their consequences, considered in reference to the

Europeans, and the general interests of the colony, independently of the effects upon the natives alone.

The Land Regulations.

The changes which have been introduced relative to the free sale of their lands by the natives will doubtless be looked upon with various degrees of satisfaction by some, and by others with the utmost hostility, so that among these conflicting opinions, and perhaps selfish interests, there is but too much reason to fear that the advantages already gained for the country will not long be permitted to continue without violent opposition from some quarter. It therefore becomes the more necessary to point out the facts of the case, so that reason and good judgment may be permitted to exercise their just influence, unwarped by the contracted opinions of interested individuals.

There has of late years been such a mania regarding the land in the colonies—such extravagant expectations of the sums of money to be realized from the land sales, with such a strong opinion on the part of the Government that they can apply the proceeds so much more usefully than the colonists could do for themselves, and that the Wakefield system of colonization in particular is applicable to all places and circumstances,—that, it is hardly to be expected that any different system will be allowed an impartial hearing, far less a fair trial. But luckily, for New Zealand, it is not necessary to dispute the principle of the Wakefield theory or its general practicability, as it can

be very easily shown that it is altogether inapplicable to New Zealand, however fit it may be for other places.

The Wakefield theory professes to be based on the principle of keeping up a certain correspondence between the capital introduced into a new colony, and the due supply of labour to make that capital productive. The object in view is very good, provided the Government have the means of carrying it out. The accomplishment of this end necessarily pre-supposes, however, that the Government, in the first place, have the land in their own hands, which they may sell out as they please; and also that they have the means of transporting labourers to the proposed colony, or repelling them from it, as they think proper, so as to keep the labour, and the capital evenly balanced. If there be no labour, the capital will be useless; if, again, there be too little capital, or, what is the same thing, if the country, at the particular period, does not afford the means of profitably investing it—the labourers will be left to starve, as in South Australia and New South Wales.

Swan River was at one time a favourable place for trying the Wakefield system, as Albert Land, near the south pole, might be at the present day. In both places the land did belong to, or was taken by the Government, and could be granted or sold as might be thought proper; and there was no danger of a surplus of emigrants to destroy the balance between the labour and the capital. But in the present day matters are entirely changed. Emigration has now become so general, if not from the mother

country direct, at least from one colony to another, or from foreign countries other than England, that any attempt on the part of our Government to regulate the supply of labour to the amount of capital must be looked upon as an absurdity. The Government have no means of ascertaining the extent of the capital, far less can they discover how that capital is to be employed, and the consequent demand for labour. But if they could do this, they possess little or no power in regulating the supply of the one to the extent of the other.

In New Zealand, all these objections apply with peculiar force. In the first place, the Government do not possess the land, which of itself negatives the applicability of the first principle of the Wakefield theory; but if they did possess the land, and could sell it at pleasure, there is native labour already in the country, and to such an overwhelming extent, that Government would be positively criminal in any attempt at the introduction of labourers to this colony in the same way as to the other Australasian colonies, and thus the fundamental principles of the Wakefield system become entirely inapplicable.

There is only one ground on which Government interference could be maintained—namely, that the sale of the land would produce a fund for transporting the surplus population of Britain; and certainly, if the Government are determined to use such a fund in this way, heedless alike of the misery of the sufferers, as well as of the best interests of the colony, there is no use in replying to the objection, as the Government

have the power, and can use it as they think proper. But it is not supposed that the Government can wish to treat New Zealand and its population in any way inconsistent with their own interests, and then the discussion of the land question becomes a very simple matter indeed.

Under the present land regulations, the first question which they will naturally give rise to is, whether or not a sufficiency of labour may be expected without a fund for sending emigrants. To this question, there can be no hesitation in replying, that there will be abundance of labour without the Government interfering, or sending out a single emigrant. In the first place, the natives are most willing to work, and that at half the expense of European labour, and there is every probability that the supply of such labour will keep pace with the wants of the community. The natives cannot, of course, do every thing, and many artizans will also be required; but these will continue to be, as hitherto, amply supplied from the adjoining colonies, and that without any expense to New Zealand. It should be observed that the communication is now so frequent with the other colonies, and the rates of passage-money so low, that the one colony may, in this respect, be said to form part of the other; and the price of wages is regulated accordingly. It would therefore be a waste of money to put the New Zealand colonists to the expense of sending to Britain for emigrants, with any hope of thereby affording them abundance of good and cheap labour; for no sooner

would the emigrants arrive, and find wages better in the adjacent colonies, than they would immediately betake themselves thither; nor would they return until the wages had fallen below the New Zealand rates. As the price of labour in the neighbouring colonies must of necessity, therefore, regulate the wages in New Zealand, it will be far more profitable to trust to these sources for our supply of labour, and retain our emigration fund for the purpose of employing the emigrants when they shall arrive.

But although experience has rendered it certain, let it be assumed a matter of doubt, whether labour could be procured from the other colonies or from England without its being specially sent for, still it would not follow that Government would make the selection so well as the parties interested would do. If a colonist require a particular kind of labourer, he can surely send his own money for him to Sydney, or even to England, as well as the Government, with every chance besides of getting a person more industrious, and more suitable for the particular work he has to accomplish. We should not find such a mass of misery existing in the colonies if such emigrants only were sent as were known to the colonists, and really required by them. It is, no doubt, to be regretted that capital should remain at any time idle for want of labour to employ it; but this is surely nothing compared to the misery endured by the poor emigrants, who, in nine cases out of ten, are sent to the colony long before they are wanted, where they are left to starve until the

capitalist has had time to look about him, and to discover how he can profitably employ them.

Look to South Australia,—the beau ideal of the Wakefield theory,—and say if this was not the root of all the misery that was there endured. After the emigrants and their employers had been wrangling amongst themselves for the first three years, as to the best site for the capital—all the while doing nothing, and their little means fast disappearing,—suddenly a mania sprung up for buying land for the sole purpose of cutting it up into small sections, and deluding the emigrants into purchasing them. Thousands and tens of thousands of pounds were thus paid into the treasury, and these sums were sent home to bring out victims, according to the Wakefield theory of *providing a proper supply of labour for the capital invested*.

When emigrants arrived in the colony they found, as any one possessed of an ounce of brains might have foretold, that those Wakefield capitalists had already spent all their money on the purchase of useless land, and had no means left of employing labour. But, moreover, it might have as easily been seen that these capitalists *never intended* to employ labourers, and the poor emigrants were left to starve, and an unparalleled amount of misery was the consequence. It was notorious to every one that, for the first four years after the existence of that colony, no industrial pursuit was engaged in which required any labour to speak of. There was no agriculture, and the small

experiments made in whaling, in addition to a few flocks of sheep, did not employ more than one hundred individuals, while the *thousands* were left to loiter about the town, build houses for themselves and the future victims, until the fatal delusion could no longer be concealed.

No doubt that colony is now recovering, and bids fair to be eminently prosperous in the course of a few years. But let it not be forgotten, that this success has been reared on the ruin and misery of many thousand fellow beings,—all proceeding from the mad attempt to carry out a fanciful theory of sending emigrants in proportion to the sums of money which land speculators might choose to spend in the purchase of land, and making this mania a criterion of the labour required to render that land available.

There is no doubt that the whole of these labourers would have been required, if the intention had been to employ them on the land. But such intention never existed; and the sums of money thus spent should rather have been taken as an index of the poverty of the spenders, than of their capability and intention of employing a corresponding number of servants.

After such a signal failure, it would be perfectly criminal in Government longer to pretend to regulate the supply of labour and capital in a new colony. Before this could be attempted, it would be required first to know,—not only the amount of capital in the colony, but also how each individual intended to employ that capital: and then, but not till then,

could an estimate be made of the number of labourers required to render that capital available.

The attempt to carry out in practice the principles of the Wakefield theory by an arbitrary adjustment of the quantity of labour to the amount of capital expended, is not more absurd and ridiculous than is the main object for which this attempt is made—namely, to concentrate the colonists around each other. Instead of this being, as pretended, an advantage, in most cases it is the very reverse.

It must be kept in view, that the concentration of practice is altogether different from combination of labour, which perhaps the colonization theory means by the word concentration. No one requires to be informed of the advantages to be derived from a proper combination of labour, but this can never be gathered from the rude materials supplied by the emigration agents. As well might a man attempt to form a partnership in business with the first individual he met with in the streets. He *might* succeed, but failure would be the result in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

Combination of labour is a matter of very delicate adjustment, and requires all the tact and management of the parties themselves to arrange, and is altogether beyond the capacity of third parties—far less need the careless and, usually, incompetent Government agents attempt it.

But the concentration of practice is a very different matter, and is quite within the power of the Government to effect. It means nothing more than *crowding*

individuals together within certain narrow boundaries, so that they may make each other miserable. In New Zealand, Captain Hobson and Mr. Shortland carried out this principle to its farthest extent. They commenced with the town land, and sold at first not one-tenth of the quantity in demand. The obvious result followed. The allotments brought incredible prices—300*l.* to 1,600*l.* per acre!!! As the community could not get more land from the Government, these miserable allotments were again divided and subdivided to such an extent, that lanes of six feet wide were formed, and miserable fragments of thirty feet square sold at the rate of one pound sterling per foot frontage.

This certainly was concentration with a vengeance,—but so determined were the Government, and so true to their principles, that notwithstanding the intense desire to obtain town land thus unequivocally manifested, no second town sale took place till one whole year had elapsed. With the country land, the same madness was exhibited. Only a few suburban allotments of four and five acres, cultivation allotments of three to ten acres, and small farms of twenty to fifty acres were sold, and these even of the very worst quality. The consequences have, of course, been ruinous. The few individuals who have attempted cultivation on such patches have sunk all their money, and it is very questionable if they will ever get any return; whereas, had they got plenty of cheap land, they would have purchased sheep, cattle, or other stock, from which they would have

reaped at once a quick as well as an abundant return.

These unfortunate results, obvious as they were, did not have the least effect upon the Government, but they were still determined upon further experiments, and next attempted to *force* all the land claimants to give up their own lands for the Government suburban allotments, and fifty-acre small farms; but the attempt was altogether so unjust and tyrannical, and the opposition to it so great, that it was abandoned. This case is an excellent illustration of the adage, that one man may take a horse to the water, while twenty cannot force him to drink. The very plan which the Government had devised for the settlement of the land claims would have been willingly accepted, if the *concentration* had been made optional instead of compulsory; and a petition to that effect was presented to the Legislative Council, but the Government were then too big with their own importance to listen to the reasonable requests of the people. Now that this *option* has been permitted by the Home Government, the parties interested justly consider it a great boon, and many have accordingly taken advantage of it. They would as gladly have done so under Captain Hobson, but it was pure madness to expect that settlers, against their inclinations, would give up their lands, and gather from the four corners of New Zealand around the allotments of Auckland, at the bidding of a local despot.

Concentration has, therefore, been well tried in

New Zealand, and has eminently failed. The country is altogether unsuited for it. In the first place the pursuits must be pastoral rather than agricultural. Secondly, the country being already peopled in all directions, with natives having abundance of produce to sell, *dispersion* amongst them is necessary to make this produce available. But thirdly, the country is every where intersected with rivers, which enable the settlers to spread themselves over it, and at the same time afford the means of conveying their produce to market, without the roads, &c. which are the first object sought to be attained by the concentration of the Wakefield theory.

The rational method of colonizing a new country, one would naturally suppose, would be first to allow a few people to proceed in the character of explorers, and when they had completed their operations and settled themselves, then, and not till then, should emigrants be sent to their assistance. But success would, even then, be incomplete if these new emigrants were selected indiscriminately by the Government, and sent without the knowledge of the parties employing them, as they might prove useless to the colonists or otherwise unacceptable, so that coldness and bad feelings would immediately spring up amongst them. If, instead of thus proceeding, the parties already settled in the country were to procure their own friends or acquaintances, it seems quite certain that their success, and consequently the general advancement of the colony, would be infinitely greater than it ever can be under the present

system of sending out emigrants unknown to the colonists, such emigrants being frequently bad characters, and altogether unsuited to those who are expected to give them employment.

But it will be asked how any labourers can be expected to work for wages, when they can procure land of their own so cheaply ?

No better answer can be given to such a question than urging the general principle which most people will now consider as a settled truth ; namely, that the individual labourer must be allowed to be the best judge of what is most for his own interest ; and, it may be further considered, that the sum of the individual benefits, is the measure of the general prosperity ; from which it would follow as a natural consequence, that, if the labourer saw it more for his benefit to work for wages than labour on his own land, he would, as a matter of course, labour for the capitalist accordingly ; and the effect, by the terms of the proposition, would be general prosperity. But suppose, on the other hand, that the labourer found it more beneficial to cultivate his own ground than to work for wages, then, in like manner, must this be most conducive to the general prosperity. The capitalist, it is true, may be all this time doing nothing with his money, and, as an individual, may suffer loss ; but still this may be true, and the general welfare, on the whole, be augmented. Government might suppose that they ought to interfere and compel the labourer to work for the capitalist, but this could not be done without manifest injustice

to the labourer, or without the Government assuming that they know the individual interests and could promote them better than the individuals could themselves. It is idle, therefore, to suppose that the capitalist can have any difficulty in procuring labour if competent persons are found in the colony. It is true he may not be able to compel them to work for any sum he chooses, and it would most obviously be to the public injury to give him such a power. They ought not to work for a less sum than their own exertions, applied in their own way, would have yielded to them. The capitalist must give them something more as an inducement; when their interest will make them happy to accept of his terms.

If the Government merely see that labourers are positively in the country, they do every thing that their situation qualifies them to perform well, the rest may be left to the freedom of commerce, with the fullest reliance on individuals being most competent to manage their own affairs; and it having already been seen that New Zealand does not in this respect require the assistance of Government, it may be fairly assumed that the connection between the labourer and the capitalist will not to any extent be injured by the change in the greater facility of purchasing land introduced in New Zealand.

Another objection may be made to these regulations, in so far as no limit is fixed to the quantity of land which individuals may acquire. This question ought also to be considered in reference to the general

prosperity of the colony, including natives as well as Europeans: but it will, doubtless, be looked at by some in reference to the one of these classes only to the neglect of the other, so that a few observations as to the special effects of each of these, may be necessary.

Land Regulations as they affect the Natives.

It may be supposed by many that the natives would sell all their lands, without retaining sufficient for their own use; this, however, would happen but seldom, if ever, as it is well known that they are ardently attached to their lands, and calculate on their cultivations for their subsistence as prudently as the Europeans themselves; but although this be the case, there is no necessity for running any risk in the matter, as the Government, all along, have reserved to themselves the power of sanctioning a sale or not, as it might be deemed beneficial or otherwise. This power still remains; and if the means are employed, as already pointed out, for obtaining the numbers of the tribes, with other particulars, there will be no difficulty in determining whether the natives require the land for their own use or not.

All fears of the natives selling themselves out of their lands being thus set at rest, the various advantages to them of the unlimited power of sale may be glanced at.

They get the purchase-money, in the first place,

to supply their immediate wants; but this is the smallest portion of the advantage, as the settlers, whom the natives are so very anxious to have on their lands, will afford them constant employment, besides becoming the purchasers of any produce they may have to dispose of. In addition to this, a tenth portion of the land sold is retained for the use of the natives; and by the exertions of the purchaser, in settling and making his own land available, he is also adding greatly to the value of these reserves, so that the one-tenth may soon become of more value than the whole was in the hands of the natives. And as they can only be civilized by the free intercourse with the Europeans, it is obvious that this end will be soonest attained by permitting the natives freely to sell their lands, and proper care being always exercised by the Government in not permitting them to sell too much, there does not appear to be any evil, but positive good, to accrue to the natives by selling their waste lands.

It may be remarked that Government, under such a system, are much more likely to watch over the interests of the natives than under the old system, when they were themselves the purchasers, and therefore interested parties. Under that system it may well be doubted whether any consideration was, in any one case, ever given as to whether the natives were selling too much or not; on the contrary, every means were taken to buy the lands anywhere, and as cheaply as possible. In one instance every attempt was made to purchase a native *village* near

Auckland; but the natives would not listen to it. In this case the location was extremely valuable, and the natives, as they possessed but a very limited quantity near the township, were the more anxious to keep it, since it enabled them to raise vegetables and other produce to maintain themselves by sales to the settlers. In another instance, already referred to, an equally unsuccessful attempt was made by the Government to get the tribe living at the Bay of Islands to dispose of some land which they occupy in that township; but the chiefs replied that they would not part with it if they were offered as many sovereigns as would cover it. In this case the land was also very valuable to the natives, as they thought it afforded them a protection from their enemies, it being in the midst of the settlers.

But rapid sales of the land benefit not only the natives, but also the European portion of the community.

In the first place the individual purchaser must be allowed to be benefited himself, or he would not enter into the speculation; but he cannot make any use of it without the labour of others. The community have, therefore, the certainty of his best efforts in persuading others to join him; and there can be very little doubt that he will succeed ten times for once that the Government would be successful. In fact, it must be obvious to every one that Government are totally unfit, as it would be improper in them, to take active measures for stimulating and forcing emigration, as the emigrants would

have good reason to complain should their expectations be at all disappointed, a case which, under such auspices, would happen but too frequently. Under the Government management, the land in New Zealand has hitherto been of no use whatever; nor is there reason to believe that it would soon become so. Private individuals, on the other hand, are well qualified to make rapid sales, if permitted to do so; nor can the statement require any proof that the land in their hands would be sooner settled, and its resources sooner discovered and made available than under the management of the Government.

Nor should the opinion be readily adopted, that large tracts could easily come into the hands of those without means, or incapable of making a proper use of the land. There are very many difficulties in the way of such persons acquiring land, as may be seen from an inspection of the Government regulations at present in force, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.* These regulations, however, it may be observed, have been adopted to suit the pressing exigencies of the moment, and will doubtless yet undergo material changes. In fact, one important alteration was introduced between the 10th of October, (the date of the proclamation authorizing such purchases,) and the 6th of December following, when certain explanations of the proclamation were given in the Government Gazette, and the very important one, that the liberty of purchase would extend merely to a *limited* portion,—this signifying “not

* See Appendix, No. III.

more than *a few hundred acres*”—vague enough still, but clearly intimating a narrow limit to the extent of the purchase. These regulations, it will therefore be seen, not only thus limit the extent, but the proclamation also reserves a right to the Governor to refuse his sanction altogether, or give it as he “may judge best for the public welfare, rather than for the private interest of the applicant;” and this, moreover, independent of all considerations, as far as the natives are concerned; so that while it might be deemed proper for *them to sell*, the *individual purchaser* might be objected to.

It is manifest that these regulations cannot long be acted on so as to give satisfaction either to the natives or to the Europeans, as such powers in the hands of the Governor, while they might be employed by him for the public good, are still so personally offensive and invidious that it would be found impossible to act upon them.

One clear and definite principle ought to be followed. If the natives are allowed to sell at all (after considering whether they can do so without injury to themselves—a very proper inquiry, and one which can only be left with the Governor) they ought to be permitted to sell to any one they choose, and that to any extent; or, if a limit is fixed, it ought to be universal in its application. It would be a most invidious and disagreeable task to impose on the Governor the duty of first refusing the application of Mr. A., and afterwards assenting to that of Mr. B.

All circumstances considered,—the interests of the

natives, their intelligence, their perceptions of their own interests, and the determination which they evince to obtain the full disposal of their own property,—and considering at the same time the interests of the Europeans, and thereby the general welfare of the colony, I feel no hesitation in declaring my opinion to be in favour of the perfect and unlimited freedom of sale in the natives, after the Government have decided that the particular lands can be sold without injury to the owners of it.

While this would give perfect satisfaction to the natives, it would, at the same time, be justice towards the Europeans ; and this could be accomplished, while other methods, less objectionable than the present, could be adopted for throwing all legitimate impediments in the way of purchasers, and that without any violent or undue interference with the freedom of commerce in the buying and selling of land.

In the first place, it is to be observed that the natives sell their land as they sell their pigs and potatoes—under the open competition of buyers ; and no sale is ever made without their holding, as they term it, a committee of those interested, before whom the matter is discussed in the most complete and formal manner, so that there is almost no possibility of entrapping them into a sudden or inconsiderate sale. Such being the case, there is no reason whatever to believe that land can be purchased under its fair and marketable value.

The Government regulations should first be directed to secure the proper purchase of the land

from the natives ; this might easily be effected by,—

1. The first step in the purchase of the land, it is conceived, should be a *joint* application from the seller and the purchaser to the Government to get the Crown's right of pre-emption waived. When this has been obtained, the parties can settle the terms of purchase. On this being arranged, it should be communicated to the Government, and the sale advertised in the *Maori Gazette*, stating the seller's and purchasers' names, the lands sold, and the consideration money, and intimating that a Crown grant would be issued for the same at the end of twelve months from the date of purchase, if no objections were made in the mean time.

It may be remarked on the above arrangement, that it is a matter of some importance to make the *seller* and purchaser *unite* in the application to have the Crown's right of pre-emption waived, as much confusion has already arisen from want of attention to this. Sometimes application is made for this indulgence without consulting with the natives at all, and when it has been obtained, the applicant finds, on going to the native sellers, that they have already treated with another purchaser: then this person is brought into collision with the first applicant, and the right of purchase which he has obtained from the Government. But as it seems quite clear that no person has any right to obtain from the Government permission to purchase land which the native owners *may* not feel inclined to sell, a great amount of unnecessary

confusion and ill-feeling would be avoided by the adoption of the course now pointed out, which appears to consult the interest of both buyers and sellers.

It is also of importance that the consideration given for the land should be published in the Gazette; as it would sooner enlighten the natives, if they require any enlightenment—as to the full value of their lands; but it would further be of essential service, as the nature of these payments would indicate the progress of the natives in civilization, and would afford a timely warning to the Government if there appeared to be a disposition to obtain greater quantities of guns and warlike munitions than might be consistent with the peace and security of the country. The publication recommended would further show if any *spirits* had been given in payment, in which case the Government should use all their power to check the practice. One case has already occurred where advantage was taken of a chief by inducing him to drink spirits, and then procuring his signature to a document giving a right of lease to a portion of his lands.

It is further proposed to do away with the Commissioners' court,—such court, as a measure of security to the natives, being perfectly useless if the particulars of the sale are duly advertised as proposed.

The commissioners *may* have been required hitherto, as the proper means were not taken to inform the natives so as to have enabled them to state their objections to alleged purchases; but if

it be allowed that the Commissioners have thus done good, it should also be known that their inquiries have given rise to a great deal of evil. It is notorious that the witnesses brought forward to prove the purchases were regularly bribed; sometimes to say what was, and at other times to swear what was not, true. They had always to be *paid* for their evidence, whether favourable or unfavourable; and to such length was this carried, that it was a common practice for the Commissioners to recommend to their *friends* to make certain payments to the natives before coming into court.

Any one at all acquainted with the natives, knows well, that whatever quantity of land the deeds may pretend to contain, the purchaser will not be permitted to occupy one inch unless it has been fairly purchased; the truth of which was but too fatally proved by the massacre at Wairu.

The same thing has frequently been shown in purchases of the New Zealand Company. Witness New Plymouth, where the settlers have suffered so much in consequence of the determination of the natives not to allow them to occupy land which had never been sold. Many other portions of the Company's lands have been similarly contested—fairly enough by the natives,—but at the expense and ruin of the poor deluded settlers. Nor have the Government purchases been made with much greater care. It so happens that a portion of Mr. Commissioner Spain's own farm in the neighbourhood of Auckland, purchased by him at a Government land sale, originally

forming a portion of a block of land belonging to one of the old settlers, Mr. Dalziel, which the Government seized upon, and sold without an inquiry, or making any compensation to that individual. A portion of this land so bought by Mr. Spain had not been sold by the natives, and after several fruitless attempts by them to procure payment and satisfaction, they, being at length exasperated, pulled down his fences twice before their complaints were listened to.

Another portion of land near Auckland was, in like manner, sold to another settler, Mr. Beveridge, who, after laying out considerable sums on it, was in the same way annoyed by the natives, in consequence of its never having been sold by them. The Monganui case, already mentioned, is another fatal evidence of the incapacity of the Government for making purchases from the natives; and the instance of Papakura, also before referred to, should not be forgotten, where the Government not only made an attempt to survey it before purchasing it, but, after arranging for the purchase, they did so with the wrong parties, which created so much excitement, that at one time another Monganui war seemed inevitable.

In all these cases, it may be asked, of what use would be a commissioners' inquiry, for which the natives care nothing. It might embarrass the Government, but could neither insure a good title nor indicate the validity of the purchase. It is occupation alone which can prove a good purchase.

The commissioners' inquiry serves merely to create vast delay and expense, and to keep up a very pernicious excitement amongst the natives, stirring up many unjust claims for payment, but never ascertaining one real owner, or affording him any chance of payment which he would not have had independently of such inquiry. The commissioners' labours cannot possibly do any good, but may, and have already done, a very great deal of evil.

But were it even granted that the commissioners' labours had hitherto been of some use, it is believed that the following regulations would enable such an inquiry to be dispensed with, and that with all safety to the natives, and with much more security to the purchasers.

After the purchase and its due publication have been made—

2. The purchaser, before obtaining his Crown grant at the end of the year, should, previously, be required to survey the land, cutting lines, or making other marks round its boundaries, and this he should be compelled to have done at least two, or even three, months before he can apply for a Crown grant.

This regulation of itself would supersede any necessity for the commissioners' interference, as it would be quite impossible for any one to survey such land if it had not been previously purchased; and it would obviously afford ten times stronger evidence of the purchase than any investigation before the commissioner, however carefully it be performed. False evidence might be adduced to him, and he

might very easily misunderstand the particular boundaries of the purchase as sworn to by an honest witness; but if a surveyor's line were cut round it, there could be no mistake made on either side.

The sum of money which the purchaser would thus be compelled to expend on surveys would be, to a certain extent, a guarantee for his being possessed of a certain amount of property, and to a certain extent, therefore, prove an obstacle to the acquirement of too much land for profitable use. And this end would still further be attained by making another and very necessary regulation, that—

3. No purchaser of such lands should be permitted to effect sales of them until a Crown grant had been obtained, and all agreements in contravention of this should be declared null and void.

In addition to the reason already assigned for this recommendation, the policy of it is obvious, in preventing fraud and litigation between the settlers, and even between natives and the purchasers, until such titles can be obtained.

4. The Crown grants for such purchases should contain a reserved right to make public roads and bridges, on making compensation to the parties in other land, or money, as the Government might think proper.

5. A tenth of the land so purchased, of average value, and taken from *one* side of the block, should be reserved for the native owners. If land of an average value cannot be taken from one side, or so

taken as not to injure the rest of the purchase, the purchaser should be permitted to give up a larger portion, so as to make up in value a full tenth part of the purchase. In very small purchases, or in the case of islands, the Government should accept of a composition in money for the tenth of such lands.

Under such simple regulations as these, there can be no doubt that the interests and wishes of the natives would be best consulted, and they would be equally acceptable to the colonists, while, at the same time, the progress of the colony would be the more rapid. Any obstacle thrown in the way of the natives freely selling their land, it may certainly be affirmed, from what has been already seen, will be a ground of ceaseless agitation and strife between them and the Government; and if the natives are permitted to dispose of their lands at all, it would be most impolitic and unwise to limit now their full rights of ownership. These views are fully borne out by the statements contained in the proclamation of the Governor already referred to. The reasons for the concessions there made to the natives are alleged to be "the evil consequences of misrepresenting the motives of Government, and asserting that to be a mark of oppression, even of slavery, which is in reality a mark of parental care, are already manifest, and *are certain to increase seriously if the cause be not removed*; and whereas the natives of New Zealand have become perfectly aware of the full value of their lands, and are quite alive to their own present interests, however indifferent at times to those of

their children. Now, therefore, I, the Governor," &c. &c.

Such, therefore, being the fact, it certainly would not be wise to continue any restrictions that could by possibility be avoided; nor can there be conceived any good reason for doing so, after the natives are thus acknowledged to be fully competent to manage their own affairs, having "*become perfectly aware of the full value of their lands.*"

But even if good policy alone may not be deemed a sufficiently powerful argument for the free, unlimited, and unrestricted sale by the natives of their lands, there are reasons of expediency which may still be urged in support of the same view. Whatever the Government may pretend, they have in reality no power of preventing the natives from entering into arrangements with individuals for at least the unlimited occupation of such lands. The natives, if they cannot sell, will therefore lease their lands; and even if obstacles be thrown in the way of this, they can then enter into a species of partnership with the Europeans, the advantages of which are well known to both parties, and thus would greater irregularities, and probably ten times more injury be done to the natives, and much greater inconvenience be occasioned to the local government, than if the free sale of the land were at once permitted without restriction. The local government are so fully persuaded of this, that the Legislative Council unanimously adopted a memorial on the subject to the Secretary for the Colonies, and

that at a period when there seemed no prospect of any immediate change in the land regulations. It is there stated, "that although the Crown has obtained by treaty from the natives the right of pre-emption over all native lands, and all titles to land that may not be confirmed by grants from the Crown have been declared by a local law to be null and void; yet, looking to the capability of New Zealand for the breeding and feeding of sheep and cattle, to the value and extent of its mineral wealth, and to the numbers and intelligence of the native owners of the soil, *it will be impossible to prevent the European settler, by any legislative enactment, from obtaining, by private arrangement with the native owners, at least, the temporary use and occupation of the land in an irregular manner.*"

CHAPTER III.

Introduction of Free Trade—Conduct of Captain Fitzroy—Prospects of the Settlers—Cheap Living—Prices of Provisions—Rents—Wages—Taxation to replace Customs abolished—Ordinance considered—Not duly enforced—Defects—Common Informers—Tax acceptable to Colonists—Opposed by Government Officers—Their object—Statement of Revenue—Sum too large for the Purposes to which it is applied—Contributions in Aid from British Treasury—Hitherto done Evil—Sources from whence increased Colonial Revenue could be obtained if applied to Purposes of General Benefit—Wholesale Spirit-sellers—Distillers—Land Tax—Objections to it.

AFTER the favourable settlement of the various land questions, and the perfect conciliation of the natives which has thereby been effected, those interested in the welfare of New Zealand will regard the establishment of *free trade* as a most glorious achievement, reflecting on Governor Fitzroy the very highest praise; nor should the grateful acknowledgments of the colonists be lessened by the knowledge that these changes were introduced to avert perhaps the destruction of the colony, by the breaking up of our

good relations with the natives. This doubtless was a powerful reason ; but, nevertheless, it ought not to be overlooked, that in making the changes alluded to his excellency still took vast responsibility upon himself ;—he risked his appointment, and favour with the Home Government—the colonial finances were exhausted, and the only source of revenue (the customs) which was at all to be depended on, this measure at once annihilated—yet, undismayed by all these obstacles, he fearlessly did that which he knew was indispensable, and his fame will rest upon it. The prosperity of New Zealand has thereby been established, and it cannot henceforth be alluded to unless in connection with his name ; and, though he may never do another good act for the colony, he will deserve the lasting gratitude of its settlers. He need not expect to receive even thanks from his superiors, as they are not likely to approve of his taking upon himself such unlimited powers ; but this is just the reason why the settlers owe him a deeper debt of gratitude. Had Captain Hobson or Mr. Shortland been inclined to take the very slightest risk upon themselves, they could easily have rendered the present changes unnecessary, at least for some years ; but clinging too closely to their instructions, too fearful of losing a single smile from Downing-street, and reckless of the interests of natives or Europeans, they permitted the colony and the people to go to ruin, and would not arrest the evil while they had the power.

Perhaps, however, a wise Providence permitted

them to run riot in oppression and folly, and thereby to produce evils so gigantic as to be irremediable without overruling measures of good; and certainly it was only the hope of these—but dimly seen—that has, for four long years of misery and misrule, kept alive the drooping spirits of the colonists.

Now that free trade has been established in New Zealand, the development of the resources of the colony will proceed with great rapidity.

Scarcely a few weeks had elapsed before a change had taken place in the Bay of Islands, in the additional number of whalers visiting that port for supplies—a source of great profit to the merchants. Under the old system, the port had almost become deserted, as it is well known that these vessels will not go to places where they are interfered with by customs' regulations, if they can possibly avoid it; but, even if they did go, they could barely supply their wants, as they would only be permitted to sell a very limited quantity of oil, and they have nothing else to offer. Not only will the whalers again resort to the ports of New Zealand, but many other vessels will also find their way that never would have thought of going before, and thus many articles of export will be made available which it would be useless to ship to England or to the adjoining colonies. Thus will be opened up a fine field of industry for the enterprising settlers.

The expenses of living will soon be greatly diminished,—even below their present low rates,—affording additional inducement to gentlemen of small fortune

living upon their incomes to take up their residence in the country ; but, in this respect, even now it may challenge comparison with most places, as will be seen from the following statement of prices in Auckland in December 1844.

Price of Provisions at Auckland, 14th Dec. 1844.

Bread	per lb.	£0	0	1½
Beef	„	0	0	5
Mutton	„	0	0	5
Fresh pork	„	0	0	3½
Potatoes	per ton	2	10	0
Fresh butter	per lb.	0	1	6
Salt butter	„	0	1	0
Eggs	per dozen	0	1	0
Milk	per quart	0	0	4
Tea	per lb.	0	4	0
Sugar	„	0	0	4

Live Stock.

Horses	£20 to £30	0	0
Working bullocks	per pair	25	0 0
Sheep	each	0	16 0
Milch cows	„	8	0 0
Fowls	per pair	0	2 0

House Rent.

Wooden houses, unfurnished (four rooms and kitchen), according to situation .	£15 to £30	0	0
Board and lodging, per week .	£1 to	1	10 0

Wages.

Carpenters, per day	£0	5	0
Labourers, „	2s. 6d. to	0	3 0

But the advantages of free trade are too well known to require any advocacy here, and those interested in the colony will be more anxious to learn in what way the Government propose to raise a revenue in lieu of the abolished customs.

As a substitute for the customs, there has been passed by the Legislative Council a property rate ordinance,* which will be seen to proceed on different principles from any other similar measure.

It is well known that the great objection to direct taxation is the disinclination which almost every one feels to reveal his circumstances, but which the principles of such a species of taxation necessarily require, in order to the fair and equal distribution of the taxation according to the extent of property possessed. Such disinclination exists perhaps in a still higher degree in a new colony than in an old country, as the greater number of individuals carrying on business of any extent are doing so chiefly on credit. To avoid, therefore, objections of this description, a return is called for of the amount of the individual's *property and income added together*, and on this accumulated sum a small rate is charged (1l. per cent.). While the rigid principle of taxation according to *ability* may so far, therefore, be departed from, and

* See Appendix, No. IV.

though some persons may thus pay even higher than they would have done under the strict application of the rule, yet it is greatly more agreeable in its present shape; as the amount of obscurity which is obtained by this blending of property and income together is just sufficient to keep the world in the requisite degree of ignorance as to the real state of the individual's finances.

Another important feature in this ordinance is the permitting any one to compound or compromise for his taxes by paying the sum of 12*l.*, in which event he cannot be called upon to furnish any statement of his affairs. Here, again, it may be said there is an important departure from equality of taxation; the more especially as it is those possessed of large means who escape. This objection is well founded, and it can only be got over by an appeal to the principle of expediency, which would permit the Government to take a less sum from a few individuals, than the principle of the tax, rigidly enforced, would have required them to pay, in order to obtain from a *large number a greater* sum than they by the same rule could have been compelled to contribute. To the general community, therefore, this is a sufficient reason, because a larger amount of taxation is *voluntarily* contributed; and to the individuals who pay the tax exactly in terms of its principle, it may be stated that the rate of tax is so perfectly reasonable, that they cannot possibly offer objections to it.

As to the limit of 12*l.*, various opinions may be formed. In an old country, or if the colony were in

a flourishing condition, this sum would be too small ; perhaps it might be expedient to raise it to 15*l.*, or even to 20*l.*, but, in the present state of New Zealand, the imposition of 12*l.* will enable the Government to raise a much larger sum than if a higher rate were demanded. At this low sum, as may be easily supposed, a great number of people willingly compound, who possess not a tithe of the means that the rate would indicate. Some do this from vanity—some to save themselves the trouble of giving in valuations of their means, and to obviate the possibility of making mistakes, and thereby incurring fines, besides having their affairs fully exposed ; others, again, from less worthy motives ; but the general result is greatly to increase the produce of the tax ; while if a high rate of composition had been fixed, say 15*l.*, only a very few individuals would have paid it.

The principle of the tax seems therefore well adapted to the present state of the colony, and if proper measures are taken to enforce the due collection of it, there is every prospect of it yielding quite as much as the customs, but certainly as much as the settlers in their present impoverished state can possibly afford to pay.

It must be admitted, however, that the means taken to carry it out do not appear to be at all adequate to the purpose : some of these defects are, however, of a temporary nature, which may soon be remedied, such as the want of collectors in various districts, and who would faithfully perform their duty. The time was so short between the passing of the ordi-

nance and the period when the first rate papers had to be given in (five weeks), that the time had actually expired before collectors were appointed; and many people desirous of paying could get no one to receive their money. This, however, may soon be rectified, and is not, properly speaking, to be charged as a defect against the ordinance itself.

In some particulars it is, however, positively defective; namely, instead of rating only once every year in the month of November, the rating ought to be every quarter, in the same way that the tax is payable. The rating is no additional trouble, either to the public or to the Government, while it would secure the contributions of all who come into the colony during the twelve months, and thus make up for the loss sustained through such as leave the colony during the same period; but under the present arrangement both these classes escape.

Perhaps the only other alteration necessary to give the ordinance a fair trial, is some more effectual method of informing against those who *underrate themselves*. The ordinance contemplates that the rate payers will themselves voluntarily, and without reward, undertake this very disagreeable task. Most anxious as the vast majority of the colonists are to see this simple and unobjectionable system of taxation fairly and efficiently carried out, the task of informer is so hateful, that none are likely, voluntarily, to undertake it. The correctness of this anticipation may soon be proved, however, as very many people have notoriously underrated them-

selves, and no steps have been taken to inform against them. Objectionable as the practice may be, it is to be feared that sufficient inducement must be given to common informers, or no check will be imposed on false returns. There would seem to be the less objection to follow this course, as the sympathy and opinion of the general community are decidedly hostile to such attempts at the evasion of so equitable a tax,—every one being convinced that if it does not succeed, taxes of another description, and more objectionable, will be imposed.

It is a singular fact, that on this new system of taxation being proposed *not a single objection* was made to it. On the contrary, it was warmly approved of, and surprised every one by its very reasonableness and moderation. The general expectation was that some very vexatious and oppressive description of tax would be proposed, and every one was prepared to offer all the opposition in his power. Not a few were actually annoyed at the measure proposed, on account of its very reasonableness and absence of the necessary elements for strife and opposition.

This tax combining in its principle so many good features, and being so very acceptable to the community, it becomes the duty of all those who wish well to the colony to see it fairly and properly tried; but great doubts are entertained of this being accomplished, the more especially as the opposition to it comes from some of the *Government officers themselves*. This will doubtless appear to be scarcely

credible, but it is nevertheless *a positive truth*. In some instances the very collectors have not scrupled to recommend individuals to rate themselves lower than they intended. In one instance that came under my own observation; an individual about leaving the colony, but liable to the payment of the first quarter's rate, was told by the collector that he was a great fool to pay the rate as he was leaving so soon, and might therefore escape the tax if he chose. The individual replied that the tax was a very fair one, and that he was most anxious to see it succeed, and therefore paid it;—hinting to the collector that he might be better employed than in endeavouring to throw obstacles in the way of Government carrying out a measure of so much good to the community. The proof of this can easily be given, if necessary; and the matter is alluded to here only to show the difficulties that the tax has to contend with before it can get a fair trial.

Many will be disposed to wonder what interest any of the Government officers can have in throwing opposition in its way. But the reason is very obvious. In the first place they have to pay taxes themselves according to their means, like the rest of the community; while under the old customs' system, they might escape if they chose. But the strongest objection which they have to the present measure, is the belief that it will not realize a sufficient revenue to support the present extravagant expenditure; hence their desire to crush the tax at the outset, so that its failure may be complete, and,

as they expect, more lucrative taxes be imposed in its stead. So obviously was this feeling manifested that the matter was commented upon in the public prints, and the Government urged to do its duty in the proper and vigilant enforcement of the ordinance; and that, moreover, by those who had been loudest in their outcry against the extravagance of the Government, and in their opposition to the former impolitic and partial system of taxation.

It may easily be seen how important the change has been to the Government officials, when it is stated that the expense to the public, of collecting the former taxes, amounted to upwards of thirty per cent.; while the new tax can be efficiently collected by a new set of officers for five per cent., and might, in many cases, be collected by officers holding other appointments (but performing almost no duty) without any charge whatever. Thirty per cent. served to maintain many collectors at the public cost, and no wonder that they should complain when their employment ceased.

Under the aspect of affairs in New Zealand, at the time when the customs were abolished, the Government only calculated them to yield about 8,000*l.* nett; and if the property rate ordinance were properly and universally enforced, there can be no question that it would yield 8,000*l.*, if not even 10,000*l.*

The estimated revenues of the colony for 1845 will, therefore, stand thus :—

Property-rate, say	£8,000
Land-titles and Crown grants	3,700

Registry of deeds	£300
Fees of judicial and police courts . .	900
Auction licenses and duties	350
Publicans' licenses	2,000
Incidental receipts	750
	£16,000
Anticipated aid from British Treasury	10,000
	£26,000

A sum *more than sufficient*, by at least 6,000*l.*, to support the Government in New Zealand in carrying on the really useful departments and expenditure at present in existence. If measures of general improvement are to be undertaken, such as schools for the natives and Europeans, the forming of lines of communication through the country, &c. &c. then, perhaps, too large a sum cannot be obtained either from the colonists or from the Home Government; but I repeat, until this be resolved upon, the present expenditure is more than 6,000*l.* too much for the purposes to which it is applied.

Government officers may thank the British public for the large sums which they have already paid for New Zealand; but it is time they should know that *the colonists* of New Zealand do not feel the least gratitude for such favours; nor will they ever do so, or care one farthing how soon these supplies cease, unless they are applied to the general benefit of the colony.

This reckless and extravagant expenditure has

done a great deal of harm. It has served to maintain a set of men whose interest it has been to keep the Home Government in total ignorance of the real state of the colony, and whose sole efforts were directed to maintain their own salaries, whether their services were of any use to the colony or not. Had the money thus thrown away remained in the colony, it would at least have been an indirect general benefit; but it was all consumed in food and clothing, and went to enrich other countries instead of New Zealand, so that the colonists have really derived no benefit whatever from the large sums of money received from Great Britain.

In thus characterizing the expenditure of New Zealand as useless and extravagant, it is but fair towards Governor Fitzroy to say, that he found the system in full operation when he came to the colony, and being ignorant of the extent to which assistance might be expected from home, his good feelings at least prevented him from turning his officers adrift, useless and unemployed as they were, until the intentions of the Home Government could be ascertained.

If the money be applied to purposes of general improvement, it might easily be shown how a few additional thousands of pounds could be raised in the colony, and that in such a way as would prove beneficial, instead of injurious, to the colonists themselves.

Now that spirits are freely imported into the colony, and the sale of them in large quantities at

a time, likely to increase, it would contribute to morality, and at the same time render an act of justice to the retailers of spirits to charge the wholesale dealers for a license of, say—20*l*. At present they pay nothing, and are entitled to sell quantities not less than two gallons. Such a tax would add a considerable sum to the revenue, at the same time that it would not be objected to, and could not easily be evaded.

As the ordinance prohibiting all distillation in the colony has now been very properly repealed, and the country being in an eminent degree fitted by nature for carrying on such a branch of industry, it is very certain that distillation will soon be adopted to a large extent; it is therefore conceived, that a moderate sum for a license might, very properly, be exacted from all who engage in such a trade, as the Government would thereby be enabled to watch over and check, if necessary, its effects upon the natives as well as the colonists. There is no doubt that this tax, as well as those on retail and wholesale spirit sellers, is so far an invasion of the principles of free trade, but they are evidently justified on the grounds of morality, and as so many checks to intemperance and its accompanying evils.

It has been proposed by some persons to impose a tax on all land, cultivated as well as uncultivated, but such a tax is so contrary to the principles of free trade, and so partial in its operation, that every attempt should be made to oppose the introduction of it into New Zealand.

I should like to know upon what principle of justice, morality or good policy, I ought to pay more for the 100*l.* that I may have invested on land, than my neighbour who has invested a similar amount in tea and sugar.

If free trade be permitted in New Zealand at all, the principle should be universally applied, as far as it is possible to do so. I ought to be at liberty to employ my money in the purchase of land as freely as my neighbour who may choose to invest his in food and clothing; and his investment of 100*l.* should not be more favourably regarded by the Government than an equal amount of my property invested in land; and we ought to pay an equal amount of taxation. Partial and unequal taxation can never flourish where the principles of free trade are introduced, and experience has surely now sufficiently proved the impolicy and injustice of such attempts. If New Zealand be chosen as the worthy field on which to try the efficacy of the principles of free trade, let these be applied in all their purity wherever it is possible to apply them, and then, but not till then, can they be fairly tested.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

REV. MR. TURTON'S LETTERS TO DR. SELWYN.

LETTER I.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND DR. SELWYN, EPISCOPALIAN
BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND.

MY LORD,

THE reason of my communicating with you on the present occasion, arises from the deplorable state of religious excitement and division which is found to exist amongst the natives throughout the whole length of the Ngamotu and Taranaki districts, and which excitement is universally attributed by the parties themselves to that peculiar style of advice and caution which your lordship was pleased to administer during your two overland journeys from Wanganui to New Plymouth; and as to my not communicating with your lordship privately, but rather through the medium of a respectable public journal, I am not apprehensive that any excuse will be required, otherwise I should urge the absolute necessity of the case, as a sufficient plea for any apparent want of courtesy which

might be suspected. For the fact is, as you are aware, that we have already communicated privately with your lordship on these subjects, and it is because that communication has failed to produce the desired effect that the necessity of a more public expostulation is indicated. On September 19th, 1843, a letter was addressed to your lordship from our district committee then assembled at Waipa, complaining of certain ecclesiastical irregularities, and acts of imprudent interference on the part of the Church Missionary brethren residing at Wanganui and Waihanæ. Your lordship promised to institute inquiry upon arrival at those places, but with what success or satisfaction we have not, as yet, been made acquainted. We had complained that one of those brethren had marked with the sign of the "cross" several natives who had been baptized by us, and had thereupon admitted them to partake of the Lord's supper, seeing that now "their baptism was complete." But that your lordship provided no remedy against a repetition of such novel conduct is evident from the fact that your lordship had but just returned home from your southern tour when the same individual takes a journey from Wanganui to New Plymouth, marking with the sign of the "cross" the foreheads of all who were ignorant, or foolish enough to submit to the operation, and straightway admitting them, whether prepared or otherwise, (Mr. T. also knowing but little of the language) as worthy members of your lordship's communion to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. I allude not here to the *impropriety*, nay, may I not say the *profanity* of such conduct; but to the simple fact that such circumstances have really, and recently transpired, and would urge it as a part of my plea for thus presuming to give public notoriety to these remarks. It

seems desirable that the public mind should, at length, be well informed as to the dangerous tendency of many of those principles and practices which it appears to be the studious care of your lordship, in connection with some few of your clergy, to introduce amongst our aboriginal population ; and likewise as to the particular character of that unseemly opposition with which the Wesleyan Church in this district has to contend ; and which, it is presumed, is but a prelude to more extended and energetic operations in other parts of the island. The public, my lord, have a right to look to us as the appointed guardians of peace and security, on all points connected with the aboriginal interests, and it is only proper that they should be made acquainted with any circumstances which have a natural tendency to interrupt that peace, or to endanger that security which the colony at present so materially enjoys.

My lord, I need scarcely say, that this is the first avowed division of feeling which has taken place between the agents of the two societies in New Zealand during a course of uninterrupted missionary labour for the last twenty years ; and that it is chiefly in consequence of your lordship's proceedings that that division takes place now. Your lordship needs not to be reminded of the many and serious obstacles which opposed themselves to the first implantation of the Gospel in this island, or of the honourable and self-denying and persevering labours of those few devoted spirits who at length were successful in accomplishing it. But the victory was not won in a day. It was not until after many a year of hard, continuous toil on the part of the first missionaries that the field could be fairly said to be our own ; and the Saviour's standard erected in a place of peace and security. The

New Zealander was found "without God and without hope;" a superstitiously depraved and degenerated cannibal; "filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; haters of God, without understanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful." "Their mouths were full of cursing and bitterness; their feet were swift to shed blood; and there was no fear of God before their eyes." But by the transforming and ameliorating influence of the Gospel, what, my lord, has been effected? Why, the superstitions and idolatries of the island have been replaced by a rational and spiritual worship, and its system of false and imaginative theology by the written word. The land is now comparatively at rest; the dismal howl of war is now no longer heard, and the branch of peace is everywhere displayed. The wandering habit of the people is in a great measure subdued; and the mutual existence and intercourse of separate and inimical tribes is now established on Christian and lasting principles. The lion has lost his native ferocity and become tractable as a lamb; and that monster whose former life has been spent in depredations of cruelty, and whose carnivorous appetite has been glutted with the flesh of his victims, is at length transformed into a man and become the object of religious instruction. His mind has been prepared; his doubts have been satisfied; his inquiries have been answered, and his suspicions have been allayed. The "hidden things of darkness" have been brought to light; the deeply-rooted and widely extending prejudices of former times have been partially eradicated; the obstructions presented by ignorance, and hatred, and jealousy have mostly been removed; the seed of Divine life has been sown, the

truths of the Gospel have been preached, and the New Zealander of the present day is a saint indeed to what he was but thirty years ago. Of course he is but a poor ignorant sinner yet; but his comparative condition is about as I have stated it.

Now, my lord, it is only right to observe, that this great though very imperfect change in the principles, and habits, and feelings of the New Zealanders, is to be attributed not to the sole efforts of either of the societies separately, but to the united and persevering labours of the agents of both churches conjointly. I say to their *united* labours; and I wish to call your lordship's attention to that fact. Although they have laboured separately, each in his own communion, and in accordance with those distinctions of internal arrangement which are therein to be recognised; yet has it hitherto been a separation of *love*—separate in form, but united in object, in affection, in sympathy. The head quarters of the church brethren have been at the Bay of Islands, and those of the Wesleyans at Hokianga, with only a narrow strip of land between them, yet have they hitherto been enabled amicably to prosecute the great object of their mission in those contiguous localities, without any unnecessary interference the one with the other; and the same spirit of Christian love has been exercised in the extension of their several spheres of operation—the one stretching themselves along the eastern coast as far as the Thames and Poverty Bay; and the other along the western coast and Middle Island as far as Kawhia, Taranaki, Port Nicholson, Nelson, Cloudy Bay, and Otago. Indeed such was the formal arrangement agreed upon some years ago by the two parent societies at home, and which arrangement exists in its full force at the present time, however it may

have been disregarded by more recent acts. The rivers Waikato and Manukau were excepted in that general arrangement ; but as to the occupation of Wanganui and Waikanae by members of your lordship's society, we never can consider it in any other light than as a most unfriendly interference with the acknowledged claims of another body of Christians. Had a little more missionary prudence and courtesy, and rather less intemperate high-church zeal, been shown by the agents who were at first located at those stations, then might the evil have been less, and our rightful claims might have been foregone ; but as it is, I can only assure your lordship of the conviction of many, that the present occupant of Waikanae would have done much more good, had he been originally placed upon a station where he could have done much less harm.

My lord, if such be the beneficial change which has been wrought upon the New Zealand mind, and such the united agency by which it has been effected, is it not remarkably odd, that, at the end of twenty years, an Episcopalian bishop is found travelling the coast, and astonishing the minds of the natives with the (to them) unheard-of assertion, that the Wesleyans are a "crooked branch," a "fallen people," and that they have no scriptural ministers, &c. ? Will not this, my lord, sound strange to the ears of thousands who have, until now, upon the evidence of all parties, gladly received missionaries amongst them as the true ministers of the Gospel, and who have, therefore, implicitly submitted themselves without suspicion to the rites and ordinances of the church, as administered by the Wesleyan section of it ? Will they not be ready to inquire—as many of them have already done—for there are shrewd men, my lord,

amongst the New Zealanders, who are not so easily to be imposed upon by mere declaration, even if it should be *ex cathedra*). "Why have we not heard of this schismatical church before? Why have the Church and Wesleyan missionaries laboured together amongst us with such united zeal, cordiality, and good will, if the one were right, and the other were wrong? Is this a *new* Church of England that has lately sprung up; or why does it evince such unaccountable jealousy and want of love to the Wesleyans, when we have never seen such unchristian conduct before? And what has this new bishop been doing for the last twenty years, that he could not hasten hither before now to warn us of our danger—to drive these Wesleyans from the land, and to administer to our deceased fathers and children those ordinances which," he says, "are so nearly related to salvation? And, above all, why are not these *new things* written in the Scriptures, as well as in the Prayer Book, that we might know better on what evidence to receive them? Really it is very queer—we do not understand it." Nor is it at all likely that they will ever be able to understand it. By such declarations as the above, your lordship has placed the Church mission, and her past operations amongst the New Zealanders, in a most awkward position. She must either acknowledge herself to have been egregiously wrong in holding the least sympathy with "schismatics," or she must defend the course which she has taken for the last twenty years, in the exercise of "brotherly love" towards the Wesleyans; and by that means correct your lordship of feelings which it is easier to designate than to admire.

I remain your lordship's obedient and humble servant,

A. HASON TURTON.

NEW PLYMOUTH, 30th April, 1844.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,—In your communication to our district committee of October 31st, 1843 (our answer to which you will long ere this time have received), your lordship is very free to declare the Wesleyans to be “schismatics,” their ordination to be invalid, and their baptisms to be at most but the mere “acts of laymen.” Of course we can admit no part of this sweeping sentence to be correct; and if your lordship will only submit it to be tried in written debate by the test of scripture and right argument, we have no fear of being able to substantiate any ecclesiastical claims which, as a part of Christ’s visible church, we feel ourselves entitled to advance. Such bare declarations, however, when unsupported by a show of reason, whether proceeding from your lordship or from any other source, may, generally speaking, as far as the more intelligent part of a civilized community is concerned, be allowed to pass off as a very innoxious kind of sentiment. Such men will look for the *proof* as well as the *assertion*; and the one will be surrendered when the other is found deficient. With the unthinking class, however, even of our own countrymen, such declarations will be considered irrefragable, were it for no other reason than because they are put forth by men of acknowledged learning and superiority. In this case the evil is great, inasmuch as it adds intolerance to ignorance, and a spirit of religious bigotry to a naturally contracted mind. Thence has arisen that feeling of rancorous and impassioned hostility of the lower order of Papists against Protestantism, and of the same class of Protestants, the one against the

other; and such a feeling will continue to be exercised in all its malignity, so long as it is fostered and maintained by sentiments of an intolerant and exclusive character.

Now, I would respectfully submit it to your lordship's judgment, as to what is likely to be the ultimate consequence upon the native character of the propagation of such exceptionable and high-church views as those to which I have alluded. Will it serve the promotion of their best interests, whether domestic, civil, or religious? Upon your lordship's arrival in New Zealand, you found the natives generally settled down into a state of domestic peace, and family feuds were ended, and parents and children worshipping God together according to their limited knowledge. Perhaps one part of the family have been baptized into the Episcopalian, another put into the Wesleyan Church. Your lordship appears amongst them, and tells them that they must no longer worship together, but separately; and that the teachers of the one party are no longer to be allowed to instruct the other; that they are a distinct communion, and that all the distinctions of the Church are to be rigorously observed. I here refer to my own district; and what, my lord, is the effect? Why, the Scripture is literally fulfilled, that "a man's foes shall be they of his own household;" and here we have the awful sight of father and son, mother and daughter—*tuakana* and *teina*—hating each other with a mortal hatred. In some cases they are dividing themselves into *separate pas*; in other cases into *separate divisions of the same pa*; and in one village, within eight miles of this settlement, has the party spirit risen so high between near kinsmen, that one of them has *erected a fence across the Kainga, and lined it thickly with fern,*

not as a breakwind or shelter, but as he told me, "*that the one party might not be able even to look upon the other.*" I know your lordship would disapprove of everything of the kind; but such is the natural effect of an exclusive religion upon an uninstructed mind. You restrict them in matters of ecclesiastical communion, though of the most indifferent character; but they know not where to limit the restriction; and hence we find it extended to their worship, to their cultivations, to their dwellings, and to their food. They will *neither eat together, nor sit together, nor commune together*; and a kind of embryo-persecution is already being carried on on both sides. I say on both sides, for though they are far from being equally guilty, yet I lament to say that many of my own natives, excited to action by the intolerance of the Church party, have more than once exceeded the bounds of Christian temperance. But a short time ago a serious altercation arose between the natives of Orungituapeka and Waimate, three days to the southward of this place, the inhabitants of the former pa declaring that they had adopted the bishop's *tikanga*, and refusing to allow their missionary, the Rev. J. Skevington (who resides within two miles of the place) to visit them; at the same time using very contemptuous language towards the natives of Waimate. Feelings rose high between the two parties; and, but for the prompt measures of their missionary, a scene which had commenced with intolerance would have ended in blood.

My lord, in the introduction of high-churchism into New Zealand, you seem most egregiously to have miscalculated the native character. Naturally proud, domineering, and resentful, the inculcation of any principles of a kindred tendency upon the mind of a semi-civilized

New Zealander, must of necessity be fraught with danger. I have already alluded to its evil effect on the domestic harmony of our people; nor do I apprehend that any greater benefit is likely to accrue to their civil condition. It was rightly considered as a glorious proof of the influence of the Gospel in New Zealand, when divided and contending tribes were brought to lay down their arms, to submit to negotiations of peace, and to forbear all further depredations on each other. Considering the natural restlessness of their minds, the ferocity of their courage, their love of warfare, their quick susceptibility of wrong and insult, and their implacability of revenge, no single achievement of missionary effort in this country is at all to be compared with the one alluded to. But your lordship needs not to be reminded, that although the habit of warfare has been suppressed, yet the evil and malignant spirit which led to it has been, as yet, in thousands but partially subdued. Many a sanguinary war in New Zealand has arisen from no greater source than the trivial desecration of some religious rite or custom, or for some real or supposed insult which may have been given to some favourite attua; so that, if they have fought for religion once, they may be tempted to fight for religion again; not, perhaps, for religion's sake (though that would be no new thing in the world), but because of that overbearing spirit which exclusiveness is sure to infuse, or an act of retaliation for insults which either they or their religion may have received.

For instance,—the tribes of this Taranaki district are the conquered enemies of the Ngatimaniapoto and Waikato, and many of the past years have been spent by the majority of them in slavery. In the course of time the Gospel is introduced into the Waikato district by our

brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Whiteley, Wallis, and Woon, and more recently by the Rev. Mr. Maunsel of the Church mission. The preaching of that Gospel obtains success. The chiefs, with the rest of the people, receive it, and in compliance with the entreaties of their ministers, agree to a cession of hostilities with their enemies—the doctrine of Christian compensation is urged upon them with the best of feelings, and from the most disinterested motives—the Taranaki slaves are returned to the land of their birth—the chiefs are left to be their own servants, and to do their own work; and we now behold such exertions of self-denial on the part of the Waikato aristocracy, as have never before been witnessed since the country was first colonized with New Zealanders. At length the slaves arrive home, and, for some considerable time, continue to “walk by the same rule, and to mind the same thing,” grateful to God for his Gospel—to their chiefs for their liberation. But by and by a new Gospel arrives, new *tikangas* are set up, new rules are enforced, new teachers are sent amongst them; their baptism is ridiculed, their church is degraded, and their old and faithful ministers, who have taught them all they know, who have cared for and defended them, and who, at length, have released them from slavery, are now slandered and denounced as uncommissioned intruders into the land; and that too by men who, in respect to missionary labours and zeal, are perfectly unworthy to unloose the latchet of their shoes.” The consequence of all this is, that the people, like so many children, are ever fond of something new—are proselyted over to the new *ritenga*—are instructed in the new doctrines, and admitted for the first time, as they are taught to believe, into the *true church*. Under the influence of this teach-

ing, it is not long before the old spirit of hatred towards their Waikato chiefs revives in its full strength; and any little morsel of retailed slander which they can collect against the Wesleyan Church, or against the claims of the Wesleyan ministers, is so much the more delightful to their embittered feelings, inasmuch as that is the church and those are the ministers of their old and victorious enemies.

My lord, I speak what I know, when I say that this revived feeling of ancient animosity has no little share in the present religious commotion of the Taranaki district. And who can say where this spirit will end? Many a Waikato chief has already, to my knowledge, been grossly insulted by these high church proselytes, and many an exasperated remark has been made in reference to it on their return home; and some have even gone so far as to propose *fetching their slaves away again*, that they might be initiated for a few more years in the principles of Wesleyan prudence and Wesleyan love. It is but three weeks ago since I accompanied the Rev. J. Whiteley to Waimate, and so intemperate were the proceedings of your lordship's disciples at Wareatea against that devoted and successful minister of the Saviour, that an unhappy collision had well nigh taken place. Feelings of no ambiguous character were perceived to arise in the breasts of the few Waikatos that attended us, as they stood gazing in astonishment; and but for the timely precaution of my friend, who ordered them to leave the village and proceed on their journey, there is no knowing what the result would have been, and yet these were natives, most of whom were returned from slavery through the kind interposition of the very man whom they were now so grossly insulting, and who, but for him, would have been in sla-

very still. They had the confidence to plead *your lordship's personal* instructions as an excuse for their conduct. But, of course, whatever those directions may have been, they must have exceeded them on the present occasion. But if your lordship chooses to lay the foundation of an intolerant exclusiveness in the minds of uninstructed men, you need not be surprised at any excesses of conduct into which they may run ; or, at any event, however fatal or however distant, in which such principles may terminate. As a body of Wesleyan ministers, we have delivered our souls, and their blood shall not be required at our hands.

My lord, if such be the injurious tendency of the inculcation of high-church principles upon the domestic and civil interests of the natives, it is very evident that it will exert no better influence on their religious feelings. If it be injurious to them as families and as tribes, it must be equally injurious to them as men and as Christians, and so from experience we find it. Coming from a station in Waikato, where all was peace and comparative prosperity and encouragement, great indeed was my surprise and grief, on my arrival here, to find the people so deeply involved in party contentions as to mere forms and opinions. Instead of meeting me with inquiries as to the great doctrines and blessings of the Gospel, the time of both minister and people is lavishly wasted away with useless discussions on matters of mere ecclesiastical arrangement. The spirit of the Gospel has evaporated in the form, and the mind perversely surrendered to the influence of foolish questions and genealogies and contentions " which are unprofitable and vain." And as to the Church party, it is lamentable to behold the pride and presumption which they evince. On the journey just alluded to, Mr.

Whiteley was forbidden to preach at Warea, the natives declaring that your lordship had so ordered it, and that they dare not transgress; and so a scene was presented at once ludicrous and disgraceful—of two missionaries found seated on the ground, whilst an ignorant Maori lad stood up in triumph to disburden himself of a load of most egregious nonsense. And when, in the morning, we called upon the natives to prayers in our own sleeping house, they forthwith left the place, rang their own bell out of mere opposition, engaged in their own worship, and left but *three* to listen to the “tale of a Saviour’s cross.” At Wareatea also we were grossly mocked whilst in the attitude of prayer.

My lord, I feel perfectly indignant when I think of the alleged cause of this conduct. Here is an old missionary of eleven years’ standing, through whose moral influence and single intervention great and contending tribes have more than once laid down their arms and become reconciled—through whose interposition chiefly the Waikato wars have been ended, and Taranaki repeopled, and the European settlement of New Plymouth been saved on more occasions than one from the hostile visits of the exasperated Ngatimaniapoto tribe. I say here is that very man, forbidden by your lordship’s alleged direction to exercise his commission in a village which owes its erection to him, and to natives who, under God, even owe their present existence to him. In the mean time the natives are thus debarred from all means of European instruction, save what they may imperfectly derive from the quarterly and half yearly visits of Church ministers who, as yet, are unable to address them in their own language, so that they are rather to be held in the bondage of ignorance than permitted to hear the truths of the Gospel as

delivered from the lips of a Wesleyan minister, and that too in his own district! I merely adduce these instances as proofs of the prevailing spirit. How far your lordship may have contributed to foster such a spirit is not for me to determine. I can only say that you are ever and anon adduced by both parties, as the chief exciting cause of all that jealousy and bad feeling which is found to be so lamentably existent in this district. I must, however, in justice observe, that many of the more intelligent and respectable Church natives in this district are thoroughly shocked at the repulsive character of these high Church proceedings, and so fully alive to the evil consequences in which they must result, that they are determined to resist such novel encroachments to the uttermost; and many others, who have already very unsuspectingly become involved in these proceedings, declare that unless your lordship be quickly disposed to give up this "*tikanga tuara*" (back to back Christianity), as they style it, "*they will not only forsake the communion of your church, but will return to all the habits, and vices, and superstitions of their rejected but coveted heathenism.*" They say—and they are right in saying it—that "*heathenism in love is better than Christianity without it.*"

I remain, &c.

H. HANSON TURTON.

NEW PLYMOUTH, 30th April, 1844.

LETTER III.

MY LORD,—It has ever been accounted one of the most distinguished principles of the missionary churches, that whilst all possible publicity shall be given to points of *coincidence*, the greatest circumspection and candour shall be observed on points of difference; and it is only by attention to this Christian rule, that the Gospel has proved to be so successful in New Zealand, and so successful in the world. For the last twenty years there have been two churches in this country—the Episcopalian and the Wesleyan—using the same form of public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments, using the same Scriptures and Book of Common Prayer (the objectionable passages always excepted), preaching the same doctrines, and exercising the same system of moral discipline. The island has been divided into compartments, so that no minister should interfere with the parish of another; and hence, when our baptized natives have removed to the district of a Church missionary, they have become members of that minister's communion, and our original claim upon their membership has been resigned for the sake of the general principle of non-interference, and so *vice versa*, on the part of the Church brethren. Members of the two churches, likewise, after the established custom of the mother country, and for scriptural reasons, have been mutually admitted to partake together of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The missionaries of either society have never been forbidden to preach the Gospel in the course of their journeyings, wheresoever and whensoever they could find a

congregation to hear them. The utmost possible respect has been excited in the minds of the natives towards all parties; and thus both ministers and people have lived together, and laboured together, and triumphed together, being bound together in one common cause of missionary effort, by the best of all bonds—the bond of Christian love.

But it appears that we have quite mistaken our object, that we have been all wrong, and that it is your lordship's purpose to set us all right. It would appear that we came to this country, not so much to promote the spiritual interests of its population, and to live together in "brotherly love," as to advance to the utmost of our power the separate and contending claims of our respective churches, to bring out all the points of difference into conspicuous relief; and to forbid, on the part of our disciples, all manner of inter-communion and fraternity in matters of a religious and ecclesiastical nature. It would appear from your lordship's directions to the natives of this district, that the utmost distance is, in future, to obtain between the two parties—that separate services are to be established in the same village—that the attendants of one native hut are no longer to enter the threshold, or resort to the services of another native hut—that Wesleyan ministers are to be forbidden to preach in *such consecrated* places—that their ministrations are not to be attended by any but their own people; and that in some *pas* (as at Wareatea, Mokotuna, and Warea) *they are not to be allowed to preach the Gospel at all within the boundaries of the village fence!* My lord, is this true, or is it not? If not, then is your character most shamelessly tarnished by your own disciples, who assert it as an undeniable fact. But if it be true that you have given direc-

tions at any one place on the coast, that Wesleyan missionaries be forbidden to preach the Gospel within such an enclosure, then does your lordship stand convicted of having given support and encouragement to a species of intolerance and persecution which it is equally needless to censure as to designate. Let your lordship act in the same way at any of the European settlements—let the population be urged to forbid the exercise of the Wesleyan ministry within the confines of that settlement—let all churchmen be interdicted from attending the Wesleyan sacraments, and strictly forbidden ever again to enter the doors of a Wesleyan place of worship, on pain of church censure, and finally, of excommunication; and what would be the consequence? Then why should a line of conduct be pursued towards the poor ignorant New Zealanders which would meet with the unqualified censure and determined opposition of all civilized society?

My lord, Church influence in this district has been obtained by means of a most ungenerous and proselyting character; and of this fact I can give sufficient proof when publicly called upon to adduce it. In the mean time, it seems remarkably strange that your southern missionaries should be allowed to interfere with the claims and the district of another church, when they have already so many more people than they can well attend to in their own immediate vicinity, unless it be for the express object of adding to their own members by exciting suspicion and distrust amongst ours. Why, for instance, is the time of the Rev. Mr. Taylor misapplied to this district when it might be more profitably spent in his own? Have the two thousand natives of Wanganui profited so much under his instructions that he can be occasionally spared to devote his labours to the people of another circuit? If he

has too little to do in his own district, then, why is not Wanganui placed under the charge of the missionary of Waikanae, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor removed to the eastern coast as an assistant to Archdeacon Williams, who, amongst ten thousand natives, is labouring single-handed and alone, and crying aloud for more help? Or why could he not have occupied his spare time amongst the unsettled people of Taupo, where, until lately, no missionary has been placed? Or why is your lordship's minister at New Plymouth required to shut up his church once in two months to travel the same Taranaki district, when as yet he can scarcely speak a sentence of Maori, unless it be with the design of injuring the Wesleyans, and subtracting from their influence to the utmost of your lordship's ability? I know not otherwise how to answer these inquiries. But where, in the mean time, is your lordship's opposition to *Popery*? It is currently reported (and who can doubt its correctness?) that the Romish priests in New Zealand are looking with unfeigned satisfaction upon many of your lordship's proceedings. If such be the case, my lord, it is a very bad omen; and serves only to strengthen suspicions already entertained by scores of our fellow-colonists, viz., that this revival of high churchism in New Zealand stands in very intimate, though unavowed, connection with the spread of similar principles in Oxford and elsewhere.

My lord, it seems a great pity that the arrival of an Episcopalian bishop in New Zealand should thus be made the signal of strife and contention to a peaceable and rising population; and the establishment of a Church upon such an unholy foundation is but a sad presage, indeed, of its continuance or prosperity. You have publicly entered your protest against the Wesleyan mission. That mission

has been established in this country for upwards of twenty years, during which time no less than 80,000*l.* of the society's funds have been expended in its support. We have no fewer than eighteen mission stations formed, viz., one at Auckland, three on the River Hokianga, one at Kiapara, Wangaroa, Waipa, Aotea, Kawhia, Wakatutumu, Mokau, New Plymouth, Waimate, Patea, Port Nelson, Cloudy Bay, and Otago; and which stations are supplied by the labours of fifteen clergymen and five catechists, under the general superintendency of one bishop. Some of the most influential and important tribes of New Zealand, including many thousands of natives, are under our regular instruction, and the general prosperity of our work is only limited by the contractedness of our means. And is it against this mission, my lord, that the skirmishes of the High Church party are to be directed? And does your lordship for a moment imagine that any efforts of that character will ever be able to drive or frighten the Wesleyans from the field? As far as we ourselves are personally concerned, your lordship is perfectly free to act as you please in this matter; for we have not the least apprehension in respect of the final result. Methodism has met with opposition before now, and as often has she triumphed over the influence of illiberality and prejudice. But this, my lord, is a new scene in the conflict. The ground of contention is removed to the mission field, and though we have nothing to fear for ourselves, yet are we all apprehension and dread (and I am free to confess it), as to the spiritual welfare and immortal destinies of our people. But it is our constant prayer to God, that they may be enabled to endure the trial in a Christian spirit, and as becometh godliness. As for ourselves, as Christian missionaries, we are ready prepared for any opposition and for any sacrifice. We came upon this mission, not

with any design of provocation, contention, or strife, with any of our Episcopalian brethren; but purely and entirely, as far as in us lies, to live peaceably with all men, and to effect to the utmost the instruction and salvation of those who, alas! (despite of every effort of the past)—whilst we are quarrelling—are “perishing for lack of knowledge.” For peace we have hitherto laboured, and been successful; and for the continuance of that peace we are willing to labour to the end, and even to ask it of those who have no right to disturb it. With the venerable Wesley, we wish to be “the friends of all, and enemies of none;” but if your lordship is pleased to place us in the position of defensive conflict, we know our duty, and shall not fail to perform it. And the result we shall leave with God.

But for obvious reasons of civility and respect towards your lordship, I would most gladly have avoided the duty of affixing my name to these observations; and although by doing so I may induce the bad feeling and prejudice of a certain class of men against myself, yet it is only right that he alone should be the object of censure who may have rendered himself in any degree censurable.

In conclusion, my lord, I beg to assure you, that it is from no want of esteem for your public character (which is represented by all as most estimable) that I have been excited to pen the preceding remarks; but rather from a sense of duty which I feel I owe to your lordship, to the Christian public, to the Wesleyan Church, and to the natives of the Taranaki district. I remain, your lordship's obedient and humble servant, in Christ Jesus,

H. HANSON TURTON.

Wesleyan Mission House, NEW PLYMOUTH,
May 1st, 1844.

No. II.

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PROTEST AGAINST THE NATIVE TRUST BILL.

WE protest against the passing of the Native Trust Bill, in so far as it leaves in the hands of the trustees unlimited power to teach in the schools the religious opinions of a particular class of Christians, to the exclusion of those of every other class.

Looking to the vast interests comprehended under this bill,—the vast amount of property that may be held under it,—the highly philanthropic object which it seeks to obtain, and its success or failure involving, perhaps, the existence of the aboriginal inhabitants, and the prosperity of the Colony generally,—it is of the greatest importance that the principles of the bill should be of such a character as to claim the good wishes and co-operation of every friend of the aborigines; but more particularly to claim and deserve the assistance of the various local missionary bodies as well as of the parent societies in Europe. But this bill cannot claim such confidence, inasmuch as the religion to be taught in the schools under the trust is to be altogether left to the trustees, who must be expected—perhaps conscience will make it their duty—to carry out, so



## 276 PROTEST AGAINST THE NATIVE TRUST BILL.

far as they can, their own religious views ; giving at once a sectarian character to the trust, destroying thereby its usefulness, and creating a spirit of intolerance and religious discord amongst the natives and various missionary bodies (symptoms of which are already manifesting themselves). For these reasons, therefore, and because the official members have refused to insert in the bill a clause so as either to confine the religious instruction in the schools to the great principles of Christianity,—excluding the peculiar tenets of each denomination of Christians ; or if such class religion is to be taught, because the bill does not contain a provision to support alike all denominations of Christians according to the number of native people belonging thereto. For these reasons we protest against this bill ; and request that the same may be recorded in the Minutes of Council, and an extract copy thereof along with the bill itself forwarded to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the consideration of her Majesty's Government,

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| WM. BROWN,<br>S. M. D. MARTIN,<br>CHARLES CLIFFORD, | } Members of the Legislative<br>Council. |
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AUCKLAND, June 27, 1844.

## No. III.

## LAND REGULATIONS.

## PROCLAMATION.

By his Excellency Robert Fitzroy, Esq., Captain in her Majesty's Royal Navy, &c. &c.

WHEREAS, by a proclamation, bearing date the 26th day of March, it was notified to the public that the Crown's right of pre-emption would be waived over certain portions of land in New Zealand: And whereas the terms and conditions set forth in such proclamation, on which the right of pre-emption would be so waived, have, in some cases, been disregarded, either by persons making purchases of land from the natives without first applying for and obtaining the Governor's consent to waive the right of pre-emption, or by such understating the quantity of land proposed to be purchased from the natives: And whereas certain persons have misrepresented the objects and intentions of Government, in requiring that a fee should be paid on obtaining the Governor's consent to waive the right of pre-emption on behalf of her Majesty, who by the

treaty of Waitangi undertook to protect the natives of New Zealand, and in order to do so has checked the purchase of their lands, while their value was insufficiently known to their owners :

And whereas the evil consequences of misrepresenting the motives of Government, and asserting that to be a mark of oppression, even of slavery, which is in reality an effect of parental care, are already manifest, and are certain to increase seriously if the cause be not removed :

And whereas the natives of New Zealand have become perfectly aware of the full value of their lands, and are quite alive to their own present interests, however indifferent at times to those of their children :

Now therefore, I, the Governor, acting on behalf of her Majesty the Queen, do hereby proclaim and declare, that, from this day, no fees will be demanded on consenting to waive the right of pre-emption ; that the fees payable on the issue of Crown grants, under the following regulations, will be at the rate of one penny per acre ; and that, until otherwise ordered, I will consent, on behalf of her Majesty, to waive the right of pre-emption over certain limited portions of land in New Zealand on the following conditions :—

1. Application is to be made in writing to the Governor, through the Colonial Secretary, to waive the Crown's right of pre-emption over a certain number of acres of land at, or immediately adjoining, a place distinctly specified ; such land being described as accurately as may be practicable.

2. The Governor will give or refuse his consent to waive the Crown's right of pre-emption, as his excellency may judge best for the public welfare, rather than for the private interest of the applicant. He will fully consider

the nature of the locality, the state of the neighbouring and resident natives, their abundance or deficiency of land, their disposition towards Europeans and towards her Majesty's Government, and he will consult with the protector of aborigines before consenting in any case to waive the right of pre-emption.

3. No Crown title will be given for a pa or native burying-ground, or land about either, however desirous the owners may now be to part with them ; and, as a general rule, the right of the pre-emption will not be waived over any land required by the aborigines for their own use ; although they themselves may now be desirous that it should be alienated.

4. The Crown's right of pre-emption will not be waived over any of that land near Auckland which lies between the Tamaki road and the sea to the northward, or over any land reserved for the use of the aboriginal natives.

5. Of all land purchased from the aborigines in consequence of the Crown's right of pre-emption being waived, one-tenth part of fair average value as to position and quality is to be conveyed by the purchaser to her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for public purposes, especially the future benefit of the aborigines.

6. All transactions with the settlers ; all risks attendant on misunderstandings, on sales made improperly, or on incomplete purchases, must be undertaken by the buyers until their respective purchases shall have been allowed and confirmed by grants from the Crown.

7. As the Crown has no right of pre-emption over land already sold to any person not an aboriginal native of New Zealand, and whose claim is or may be acknowledged by a commissioner of land claims, no grant will be issued to any other than the original claimant, or his

representative, whose claims have been or may be investigated by a commissioner, and recommended by him to the Governor for a grant from the Crown.

8. Land so obtained is to be surveyed at the expense of the purchaser by a competent surveyor, licensed or otherwise approved of by Government, who will be required to declare to the accuracy of his work to the best of his belief, and to deposit certified copies of the same at the Colonial Secretary's office, previous to the preparation of a Crown grant.

9. Copies of the deed or deeds conveying such lands are to be lodged at the Colonial Secretary's office as soon as practicable, in order that the necessary inquiries may be made; and notice given in the Maori as well as in the English Gazette, that a Crown grant will be issued; unless sufficient cause should be shown for its being withheld for a time, or altogether refused.

10. No Crown grants will be issued until, at least, twelve months after the receipt at the Colonial Secretary's office of certified copies of the surveys and deeds of sale above mentioned; and, on the issue of grants, fees at the rate of one penny per acre will be required by Government.

11. The Government, on behalf of the Crown and the public, will reserve the right of making and constructing roads and bridges for public purposes, through or in lands so granted; the owners being fairly compensated by other equivalent land as settled by arbitration.

12. No Crown grants will be issued under the foregoing arrangements to any person or persons who may be found to have contravened any of these regulations; and the public are reminded that no title to land in this colony held or claimed by any person not an aboriginal native of

the same, is valid in the eye of the law, or otherwise than null and void, unless confirmed by a grant from the Crown.

Given under my hand and issued under the public seal of the colony, at Government House, Auckland, this 10th day of October in the year 1844.

(Signed) ROBERT FITZROY, Governor.

By command,

(Signed) ANDREW SINCLAIR,  
Colonial Secretary.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

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## NOTICE.

*Colonial Secretary's Office,  
Auckland, 6th Dec. 1844.*

PERSONS who are desirous of having the Crown's right of pre-emption waived over certain *limited* portions of land in New Zealand, in accordance with the conditions specified in a proclamation bearing date the 10th day of October, 1844, are requested to take notice that, in order to obtain the Governor's consent, it is indispensable to comply most scrupulously with *all* the said conditions;—and as *many* applications have been rejected in consequence of inattention to these conditions, I am desired by his excellency to suggest the adoption of the following form:—and to give publicity to the annexed explanatory cautions.

*Form of Application.*

[Date.]

SIR,—I have to request that the Crown's right of pre-emption may be waived in respect of a portion of land [*here describe the situation—estimated contents in acres—boundaries, and adjoining lands, or water : giving Maori names as well as English, as distinctly as may be practicable*] which I propose to purchase from [*here mention the names of the chief or chiefs, and tribe or tribes, interested in the sale, who have a right to dispose of the said land, as accurately as may be practicable,*] who is or are willing to sell the same to me.

[Signature.]

To the Honorable the Col. Secretary,  
Auckland.

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1. The Crown's right of pre-emption will not be waived in respect of land of which a purchase (however invalid in law) has been made previous to the consent of the Governor having been formally obtained in writing.

2. Waiving the Crown's right of pre-emption in respect of any land merely suspends the right of the Crown, without conferring such right on any other body, unless so specified distinctly :—(as in the case of the New Zealand Company) and in itself conveys no title to any land.

3. By a *limited* portion of land, not more than a *few hundred acres* is the quantity implied.

4. A grant to the Crown alone gives a *legal* title ; and any unauthorized occupation of, or intrusion upon, land set apart or reserved for the aboriginal natives, or belonging to the Crown, whether owing to any misunder-

standing or otherwise, will be dealt with rigorously according to law.

5. The Crown's right of pre-emption being waived over or in respect of any portion of land, has the effect only of opening that portion of land to public competition ; therefore it is advisable for those who make application to the Governor for the said right to be waived, to make their purchases as soon as may be practicable after the consent of his excellency is obtained.

6. Lists of applications to the Governor to waive the Crown's right of pre-emption, showing the particulars of each, and stating the answer given by the Governor, will be published from time to time in the Gazette.

By command,

(Signed)

ANDREW SINCLAIR,  
Colonial Secretary.



## No. IV.

## PROPERTY RATE ORDINANCE.

An Ordinance for imposing a Rate upon Property, and for repealing the "Customs Ordinance," Sess. 1, No. 3, and the "Customs Amendment Ordinance," Sess. 3, No. 6.

WHEREAS an ordinance was enacted by the Governor of New Zealand, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, Session 1, No. 3, intituled "An Ordinance to Repeal within the said Colony of New Zealand, an Act of the Governor and Council of New South Wales, passed in the third year of her present Majesty's reign, intituled 'An Act to repeal an Act relating to the Revenue of Customs in New South Wales, and to provide for the general regulation thereof;' and also a certain other Act of the said Governor and Council of New South Wales, passed in the fourth year of the reign of her said present Majesty, Queen Victoria, intituled 'An Act for increasing the duties of Spirits, Wines, and other Goods and Merchandise imported into the Colony of New South Wales, and its Dependencies;'

and which said Acts of the Governor and Council of New South Wales were adopted, and are now in force within the said Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies; and to make provision for the collection of certain duties on goods imported into, and for the general regulation of the Revenue of Customs in the Colony of New Zealand, and its Dependencies." And whereas an ordinance was enacted by the Governor of New Zealand, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, Sess. 3, No. 6, intituled "An Ordinance to amend an Ordinance enacted by the Governor and Council of New Zealand, Sess. 1, No. 3, to repeal certain Acts of the Governor and Council of New South Wales, to make provision for the collection of certain duties on goods imported into, and for the general regulation of the Revenue of Customs in the Colony of New Zealand, and its Dependencies." And whereas the commerce, agriculture, and general prosperity of New Zealand would be greatly promoted by removing all restrictions on the free intercourse of shipping with its numerous ports and harbours, and to that end it is expedient that all duties imposed upon goods imported into the colony, and all provisions made for the regulation and protection of the Revenue of Customs by the said recited ordinances, should be repealed; and that in lieu of the said duties of Customs, a revenue should be raised by rates upon property within the colony: Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of New Zealand, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

*No. 3, Sess. 1, and No. 6, Sess. 3, repealed.*—1. On and after the present day of October in this present year, the said recited ordinance, Sess. 1, No. 3, and the said recited ordinance, Sess. 3, No. 6, shall be re-

pealed; and all goods, wares, and merchandise, which shall have been warehoused under the provisions of the said recited ordinances, or either of them, and which shall be in bond on the said 1st day of October, shall be free from all duties which would have been payable thereon if the said recited ordinances had not been repealed.

*Property Rate imposed.*—2. On and after the 1st day of November next, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, in manner hereinafter mentioned, in respect of all property and nett yearly income within the colony of New Zealand, a yearly rate, according to the scale in the Schedule hereunto annexed.

*What Property liable.*—3. Property liable to the rate hereby imposed shall comprise every description of property, whether real or personal; and for the purposes of this ordinance, the value of such property shall be taken to be the marketable value thereof at the date of the return hereby required to be made in respect thereof.

*Income what, and how estimated.*—4. Income liable to the rate hereby imposed, shall comprise the nett yearly profits of any trade, business, or profession; rents arising from real property, interest on money lent, pay, salaries, annuities, pensions, and every other description of income, whencesoever or from whatever source the same respectively may be derived; and for the purpose of this ordinance, the amount of such income shall be taken to be the probable amount thereof for the year following the date of such return.

*Composition may be made.*—5. In lieu of the Rate hereby imposed, it shall be lawful for any person liable for the payment of the same, to make a composition for such rate by paying the yearly sum of 12*l*.

*Rate, &c., when payable.*—6. Such rate or composi-

tion shall become payable in four equal quarterly payments, and be paid on the 1st day of November, the 1st day of February, the 1st day of May, and the 1st day of August, in every year; and the first of such quarterly payments shall be made on the 1st day of November next. Provided always that any person who may be liable to such rate or composition, may pay the whole of such yearly rate or composition in advance.

*Returns to be made.*—7. On the 1st day of November, in this and every succeeding year, every person resident within the colony, who shall be possessed of property of any nature or kind whatsoever, which alone, or together with any such clear yearly income as aforesaid, shall in the whole amount to 50*l.* or upwards, shall deliver to the collector of the district, or cause to be left at his office, a return in the form or to the effect in the Schedule hereunto annexed, setting out in words at length the amount of the rate payable by him according to such scale as aforesaid, in respect of the property and income for which the return shall be made.

*Return to state amount of rate payable.*—8. The return hereby required to be made, shall contain a declaration that the sum named therein is the highest rate payable by the person making the return, in respect to the property and income possessed by him.

*Composition how to be made.*—9. When any person possessing property or income liable to the rate hereby imposed, shall intend to make a composition in lieu of such rate, such person shall state his intention to do so upon the face of the return, instead of setting out, in manner hereinbefore required, the precise amount of rate that would otherwise have been payable in respect of such property or income.

*Under-estimate a misdemeanour.*—10. If any person shall knowingly and wilfully make an under-estimate of the amount of the rate payable by him in respect of such property or income, or both, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

*Penalty for neglecting to make a return.*—11. If any person hereby required to make such return as aforesaid, shall fail so to do for the space of one calendar month from the time appointed under the provisions of this ordinance for the making of this return (notice in writing of such default having been first personally served on such person), he shall, on conviction, forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding 20*l.*, to be recovered in a summary way, on the information of the collector of the district.

*Penalty for arrears.*—12. If the rate or composition payable on any of the aforesaid quarter days, shall remain in arrear for the space of one calendar month or upwards, such rate or composition shall thereupon and thereafter be increased by one-fourth part thereof for every calendar month for which it shall have been in arrear.

*Arrears how to be recovered.*—13. If any such rate or composition as aforesaid, shall at any time have been in arrear for the space of three calendar months, such sum, together with any further sum which may have become due in respect thereof, by virtue of the provision last hereinbefore contained, shall be recoverable by summary proceedings against the person liable for the payment of the same; and shall be leviable by distress and sale.

*Returns to be published.*—14. At the expiration of one calendar month, from the day on which returns are hereby required to be made, the collector of the district shall cause a statement of all returns which shall have been made to be posted in some conspicuous place or places

within the district, and shall forward a copy thereof to the Colonial Secretary for publication in the *Government Gazette*. Such statement shall contain the name and description of the person making the return, and the amount of the rate for which such person shall have declared his property and income to be liable under the provisions of this Ordinance.

*Particulars of property, &c., in certain cases may be required.*—15. If it shall be made to appear to the satisfaction of the collector of the district, on the evidence of two respectable householders, that in any return a true statement of the rate hereby imposed has not been made, the collector in such case is hereby authorized to require from the person making such return, a detailed statement in writing, setting forth a description and enumeration of the property and income in respect of which such return shall have been made, and of the estimated value thereof.

*Penalty for not supplying particulars.*—16. Any person who shall fail to make such statement as aforesaid, for the space of one calendar month after receiving notice thereof in writing from the collector of the district, requiring him so to do, or in any such statement shall have made an under estimate of the rate payable by him, he shall forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding 25l., to be recovered in a summary way.

*Particulars may be given in evidence.*—17. When any of the property set forth in such detailed statement as aforesaid, shall become the subject of any action or suit, in which the person making such statement shall be a party, in which the value of such property shall be a material question, a copy of such statement showing the value of the property as estimated by the person making

the return, certified under the hand of the collector of the district, may be given in evidence by the opposite party.

*Receipt for rate to be given.*—18. Any person making any payment under the requirements of this Ordinance may demand a receipt for the same; and every collector or other person receiving such payment is hereby required, upon demand made, to give such receipt accordingly.

*Moneys to be accounted for monthly by collector.*—19. All moneys received by any collector or other person under the authority of this Ordinance, shall be accounted for and paid over monthly to the Colonial Treasurer, or his agent, to the use of her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the public uses of the colony, and the support of the government thereof.

*Ordinance not to extend to property of aboriginal inhabitants.*—20. Provided always that nothing herein enacted shall be held to extend to the property or income of any aboriginal native of the colony.

*Appointment of collectors.*—21. It shall be lawful for his excellency the Governor to appoint persons to act as collectors of rates leviable under this Ordinance, subject to the approval of her Majesty. Such collectors shall be removable on reasonable cause by his excellency the Governor.

*Allowance for collection.*—22. Be it further enacted that there may be allowed to any collector or collectors who may be so appointed to collect the rate hereby imposed, for and in respect of all costs, charges, and trouble attending the collection thereof, any sum not exceeding 5 per cent. on the gross receipts of such collection; and that the sum so to be allowed may be deducted monthly by any such collector from the gross

proceeds of such collection, anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

*Interpretation clause.*—23. All words in this Ordinance denoting a male person shall be taken to include a female also.

ROBERT FITZROY, Governor.

Passed the Legislative Council, this 28th September,  
A. D. 1844.

J. COATES, Clerk of Council.

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### FORM OF RETURN.

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#### PROPERTY RATE.

[Name]

[Place of abode]

[Date]

I hereby solemnly declare that the rate payable by me in respect of my property and income, under the provisions of the "Property Rate Ordinance, Sess. 4, No. 2," and according to the scale in the Schedule to the said Ordinance annexed, does not exceed the sum of [the sum in words at length].

(Signed)

*Or as the case may be :—*

I hereby give notice that I intend to make a composition in lieu of the rate payable by me in respect of my property and income during the ensuing twelve months.

(Signed)



## SCHEDULE.

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When the property or income, or both taken together,
of any person, shall not exceed —

£ 50	£ 0
100	1
200	2
300	3
400	4
500	5
600	6
700	7
800	8
900	9
1000	10
Composition	12

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE writing the foregoing pages, recent intelligence from the Colony to which they relate, adds striking testimony to the truth of what I have stated as to the rapid progress which the New Zealanders are making in the knowledge of their own rights, and the evils which the former policy of our Government have entailed upon them. From moody discontent and open expression of their wrongs and practical grievances, in reference to the land questions and commercial restrictions, they have now gone so far as to fight for a species of theoretical independence—directing their efforts, not against the settlers, with whom they are and have always been on the best terms, but against the Government alone. Three times has the staff, from which the emblem of our authority is displayed, been cut down; our troops have been faced in fair fight, and, though not beaten, the field was left in possession of the natives; who, after

the settlers had deserted it, have burned to the ground the once flourishing township of Kororarika ;—many lives have been lost, and property destroyed to the amount of 60,000*l*.

Such has been the fatal result of the policy hitherto pursued towards New Zealand, and the question naturally arises who is to blame for such a vast amount of ruin and misery ?

The origin of disputes with the natives, and the cause of these evils, may partly be gathered from what has been already written, showing that they are mainly attributable to the late Captain Hobson and Mr. Shortland, and the explanation will be complete by going a step further back, and tracing a part of the evil to the ill-advised measures of Sir George Gipps, and the recklessness with which he carried through the council of New South Wales the first Land Claims Bill, basing it (contrary to the instructions and sentiments of the Marquis of Normanby) upon the unjust and false assertion, that the New Zealanders were wandering savages, and that they had no right to the soil of their own country. This act may certainly be termed the first false and fatal step committed in our management of New Zealand.

A share of the blame must, however, rest with the present Secretary of State, who permitted Mr. Shortland so long to carry on his reign of mischief after he had received the repeated memorials and complaints of the colonists, besides being from other sources well acquainted with that gentleman's incapacity. His lordship is also fairly chargeable for not having sent sufficient military assistance

to the colony, after being made fully aware of such being absolutely necessary for its defence and protection. It has been stated in the House of Commons as an answer to this charge of neglect, that an extra number of troops was sent to Australia, which is true; but they were not to New Zealand, where alone they were wanted. Beyond this, however, it seems unfair to implicate his lordship in the recent disaster.

But it is still more unfair to ascribe these to the measures of Captain Fitzroy, which have been the necessary result of a state of things which he found existing when he arrived in the Colony; but which he had not the power of controlling, far less of preventing. It is most unjust, therefore, to ascribe the present disturbed state of New Zealand to his measures, and the Colonial-office show a most extraordinary want of candour and good feeling in loading him with reproaches and abuse, in order to shelter themselves from the consequences of their own neglect by first permitting the Colony to fall into a state of disorganization, and then refusing to send the necessary assistance to maintain peace and order.

As the evil, however, is already done, and cannot be recalled, it serves but little purpose to find out the authors of the mischief, and information will be much more earnestly desired as to the extent of the discontent existing amongst the natives, and the prospect of allaying and subduing it.

It has been already remarked, that the New Zealanders are eminently a thinking people, and most keenly alive to their own interests, valuing everything according to its

practical usefulness. Such being their character, it is in the highest degree improbable that the present discontent and insubordination can spread widely among them; because all practical grievances had ~~been~~ removed, and the theoretical independence or ~~so~~ sovereignty which some of them are now demanding, is an object quite unappreciable by the great majority of them, and would be quite inadequate to induce many tribes to combine for attaining such a purpose.

While the character of the natives is altogether opposed to the supposition of large combinations against the Government, it, however, must be confessed, at the same time, that such sudden changes have come over them as to render it difficult to feel altogether secure of the result. Anything unjust, or even injudicious, practised towards them while under their existing excitement, might prove fatal to our present settlements in the country, and to our future intercourse for many years; and the next intelligence from the Colony may therefore be looked for with the deepest anxiety. If no fresh disturbances have then taken place, there is every reason to believe that our good relations with the natives may not merely be renewed, but positively strengthened; as it is very likely that the great majority of the influential chiefs will have discovered the evil effects produced by these disturbances, and be led to give unequivocal testimony of their disapprobation of them, and of their determination to assist the Government, if necessary, to maintain the peace of the country.

It is now sufficiently obvious, however, that a large

body of troops are indispensably necessary for the defence of the settlers, and to preserve order; and if the power of the troops shall be confined exclusively to these objects, there can be little doubt of this being easily attained. But if, on the contrary, that power shall be employed to uphold injustice, or to coerce the natives out of their rights, there will be no peace or personal security, and the natives will combine together, and if unable to expel their oppressors, they will at least effectually prevent the colonization of the country. In particular, this result will inevitably happen, if any interference with, or restrictions upon, the free sale of their lands be again attempted, whether in the form of an open prohibition or hinderance of sale, or by the equally unjust but more deceitful scheme of taxing their lands. Absolute free trade in land and commerce has now become indispensable to preserve peace with the natives; and New Zealand upon other terms is not worth having. Besides, we have no right to it but upon these terms. The treaty of sovereignty was a fraud upon the natives; and they are not fairly bound by any of the restrictions imposed upon them by it; and, without it, we can have no right to take possession of their country. It now suits many to set up the robber's plea of the right of discovery; but this is abhorrent to every principle of justice. As well might we claim a share of some large manufacturer's surplus stock, as attempt to claim the surplus land of the New Zealander.

True; it is said that he has more land than he can use, and that it never was the design of Providence that men

should be cooped up in one small corner of the earth when they know of plenty of unoccupied land in some other place. But is it not equally clear that the same reason would apply to the manufacturer or to any other person who might be deemed to possess any thing which he is not making a good use of in the estimation of those who covet it? It will be said these accumulations are the result of labour expended, and labour is the only legitimate index of title to possess. Then what labour, it may be asked, has many possessors of vast wealth in this country expended upon its acquisition? Or, if this is not sufficient,—what labour, or other consideration, was given for the lands which many of our aristocracy possess? Such right can be traced to no better title than the law of physical force. To this *at last* everything comes, and on which are based all our rights and powers of every description; and upon no other plea, disguise it how we may, can we maintain a right to appropriate to ourselves any new country whatever, savage or civilized, already in the possession of others. Nor does it make the smallest difference whether the land is cultivated, or merely used as hunting-ground, or not used at all.

There seems, therefore, only two ways by which we can get possession of a country, either by physical force, or by purchasing it fairly from the occupiers and inhabitants. The latter mode appears to me the only honest means, and I prefer it, and think our occupation of New Zealand should proceed on that alone, if we would hope for prosperity, or the blessing of God upon our efforts.

Land is like every thing else ; if there is a superabundance of it, the holders will be but too glad to sell it on fair terms ; and while this can be done, who shall say that we ought to take possession of it by force, and drive the present occupants or claimants from it ?

It is almost incredible that such a principle of robbery and spoliation could find any supporters in the British House of Commons in the nineteenth century, and that, too, by men professing themselves to be Christians, and some of them even foremost in their evangelical pretensions.

Since injustice and folly have now been tried to govern New Zealand for the last four years, and have been found so far wanting, let a principle of honesty, judiciously and wisely guided, be now tried, and New Zealand will be found to prosper even still more rapidly than she formerly had declined.

But there is no hope of such a desirable state of things, without giving the colonists themselves, who can alone know their own wants and interests, the management of their own affairs ;—in other words a representative government,—without which the same gross misapplication of the public money, the same imbecile attempts at government, and the same recklessness of the general prosperity will continue. Without this the people never will, and never ought to be satisfied. It is their birth-right, of which they cannot rightly or legally be divested.

In the recent debate in the House of Commons on this subject, while the right was not denied, the ex-

pediency of the step seems to have been doubted, and a miserable attempt to blind its advocates was made by offering in its stead municipal institutions; in other words, giving the inhabitants of townships numbering two thousand people, the privilege of taxing themselves as much as they choose, and laying out their money in improving streets and erecting public buildings for the benefit of posterity. If the British public are deceived with such a useless measure as this, they may rest assured that the colonists will not. Municipal government is all very well to bestow upon a community where there is some source of income from which they can improve the town; but if all the money must come out of their own pockets, as it must do in New Zealand, such a measure, instead of being an advantage is a positive injury, and would be rejected by the colonists accordingly. Municipal government was tried at Wellington for a short time, but it is believed they were heartily tired of it,—but in Auckland it was indignantly rejected, notwithstanding every possible expedient of the Government to induce the people there to apply for it; and I am very sure that I speak their sentiments with my own in saying that it will still be refused, until some source of revenue is given to support the necessary expenses of such an institution. When the ordinance was last before the Legislative Council it was only passed on the solemn assurance of the Governor that it would not be, in any case, *forced upon the people without their consent.*

The arguments used for withholding a representative Government are weak in the extreme.

In the first place it is said that great difficulty would be experienced in getting properly qualified persons from the various settlements to leave their avocations, and come to Auckland for a few weeks during the sittings of the Council. But there is no difficulty in this as experience has amply testified; though if there were, the Colonists will surely get over that difficulty with equal facility as would the Governor. There would surely be much more honour in receiving the appointment from the Colonists than in becoming the mere nominee of the Governor, a fact of itself quite sufficient to neutralize and destroy the confidence which his fellow Colonists may have previously entertained of his honesty and independence.

But if few individuals can spare the time and still fewer afford to pay the necessary expenses attending such an honour, it does not follow that such charges should fall upon the individual. Why should he not be paid,—and well paid too,—for the time which he thus devotes for the benefit of his fellow Colonists, and for the general good of the country? There appears no good reason why he should not, and the labour will never be well performed until this is done.

There is no argument that can be used in support of the present practice of permitting the Governor to nominate certain individuals to a seat in the Legislative Council that could not be used with greater effect in favour of a popular nomination. Then they would be in reality what at present they are merely in name—representatives of the people,—and till this desirable state of things is brought about the Colony of New Zealand will continue to be mis-

governed and vast sums of money from this country will be expended without doing any good to the Colony.

I cannot conclude these remarks without urging upon the Government and the country, the strong claim to compensation of these most unfortunate people who occupied the township of Kororarika, and have had their properties destroyed in the recent conflict between the troops and the natives. These warlike proceedings it is well known, have resulted altogether from the misgovernment of the Colony, and is a matter in which these settlers are not in the smallest degree blameable, and being occasioned entirely by the Government, the loss ought not to be allowed to fall upon the unfortunate settlers, many of whom have had the hard-earned savings of many years swept away from them in a moment and left with the clothes merely that covered them. And their claim to compensation is still greater when it is considered that a Government officer absolutely stood over them with fire-arms and prevented them even from making any attempt to repulse the invaders, and save, perchance, their lives and properties.

London, 31st July, 1845.

December, 1844.

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